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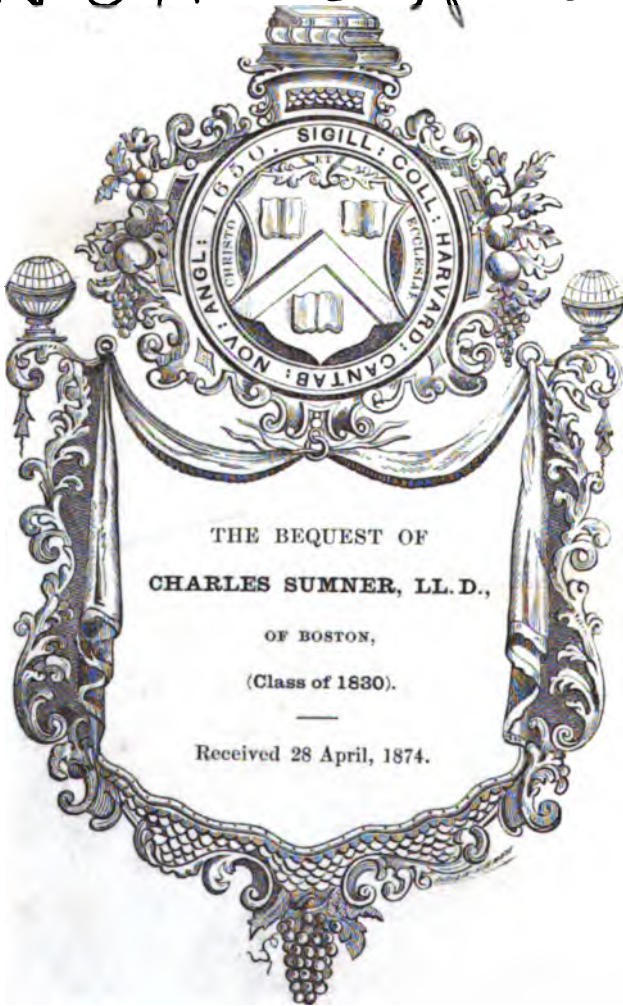
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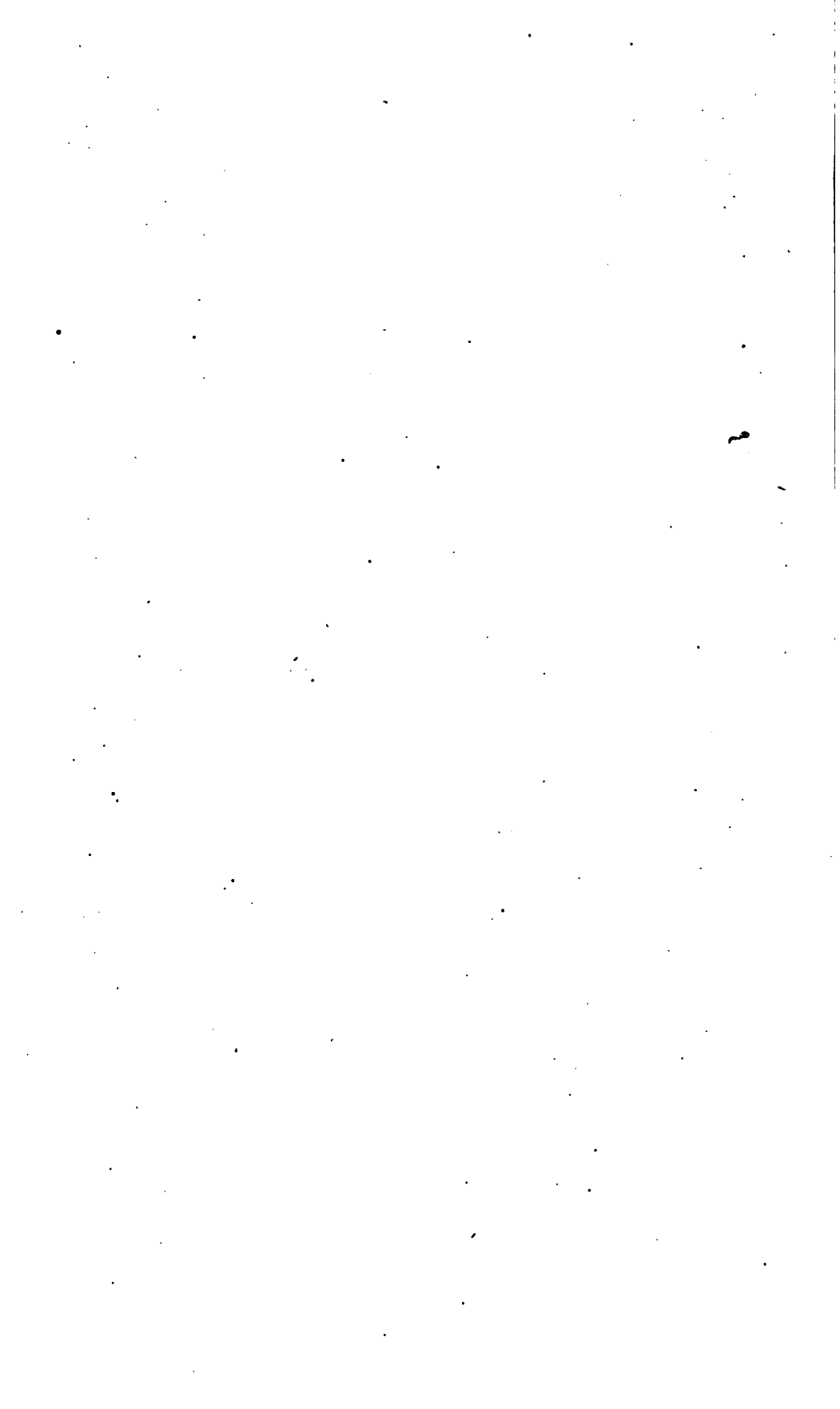
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
REBELLION.

BY
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON.

Κτήμα ἐς αἰ. *Tbucyd.*

NE QUID FALSI DICERE AUDEAT, NE QUID VERI
NON AUDEAT. *Cicero.*

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND.

Hyde, 1st BY
EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON,
SOME TIME LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

A NEW EDITION.

VOL. II. PART II.



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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION, &c.

BOOK VIII.

2 Esd. v. 9.

And salt waters shall be found in the sweet, and all friends shall destroy one another; then shall wit bide itself, and understanding withdraw itself into his secret chamber.

Is. iii. 5.

And the people shall be oppressed every one by another, and every one by his neighbour; the child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable.

AS the winter had been very unprosperous and unsuccessful to the King, in the diminution and loss of those forces, upon which he chiefly depended to sustain the power of the enemy the year ensuing; so the spring entered with no better presage. When both armies had entered into their winter quarters, to refresh themselves after so much fatigue, the great preparation that was made at London, and the fame of sending Sir William Waller into the West, put the King upon the resolution of having such a body in his way, as might give him

interruption, without Prince Maurice's being disturbed in his siege of Plymouth; which was not thought to be able to make long resistance. To this purpose the Lord Hopton was appointed to command an army apart, to be levied out of the garrison of Bristol, and those western counties adjacent newly reduced; where his reputation and interest was very great; and by it he had in a short time raised a pretty body of foot and horse; to which receiving an addition of two very good regiments (though not many in number) out of Munster, under the command of Sir Charles Vavasour, and Sir John Pawlet, and a good troop of horse under the command of Captain Bridges, all which had been transported, according to former orders, out of Ireland to Bristol, since the cessation, that Lord advanced to Salisbury, and shortly after to Winchester; whither Sir John Berkley brought him two regiments more of foot, raised by him in Devonshire; so that he had in all, at least, three thousand foot, and about fifteen hundred horse; which, in so good a post as Winchester was, would in a short time have grown to a considerable army; and was at present strong enough to have stopped, or attended Waller in his western expedition; nor did he expect to have found such an obstruction in his way. And therefore, when he was upon his march, and was informed of the Lord Hopton's being at Winchester with such a strength, he retired to Farnham; and quartered there, till he gave his masters an account that he wanted other supplies.

It was a general misfortune, and miscomputation of that time, that the party, in all places, that wished well to the King, (which consisted of most of the gentry in most counties; and for the present were awed and kept under by the militia, and the committees of Parliament), had so good an opinion of their own reputation and interest,

interest, that they believed they were able, upon the assistance of few troops, to suppress their neighbours who were of the other party, and who, upon the advantage of the power they were possessed of, exercised their authority over them with great rigour and insolence. And so the Lord Hopton was no sooner possessed of Winchester, where Sir William Ogle had likewise seized upon the castle for the King, and put it into a tenable condition, than the gentlemen of Suffex, and of the adjacent parts of Hampshire, sent privately to him, "that if he would advance into their country, they would undertake, in a short time, to make great levies of men for the recruit of his army; and likewise to possess themselves of such places as they should be well able to defend; and thereby keep that part of the country in the King's obedience."

Sir Edward Ford, a gentleman of a good family, and fair fortune in Suffex, had then a regiment of horse in the Lord Hopton's troops, and the King had made him High Sheriff of Suffex that year, to the end that, if there were occasion, he might the better make impression upon that county. He had with him, in his regiment, many of the gentlemen of that county of good quality: and they all besought the Lord Hopton, "that he would, since Waller was not like to advance, at least send some troops into those parts, to give a little countenance to the levies they should be well able to make;" assuring him, "that they would, in the first place, seize upon Arundel castle; which, standing near the sea, would yield great advantage to the King's service, and keep that rich corner of the country at his Majesty's devotion." These, and many other specious undertakings, disposed the Lord Hopton, who had an extraordinary appetite to engage Waller in a battle, upon

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old

old accounts, to wish himself at liberty to comply with those gentlemen's desires : of all which, he gave such an account to the King, as made it appear, that he liked the design, and thought it practicable, if he had an addition of a regiment or two of foot, under good officers ; for that quarter of Suffex, which he meant to visit, was a fast and inclosed country, and Arundel castle had a garrison in it, though not numerous, or well provided, as being without apprehension of an enemy.

It was about Christmas, and the King had no farther design for the winter, than to keep Waller from visiting and disturbing the West, and to recruit his army to such a degree as to be able to take the field early ; which he knew the rebels resolved to do : yet the good post the Lord Hopton was already possessed of at Winchester, and these positive undertakings from Suffex, wrought upon many to think, that this opportunity should not be lost. The King had likewise great assurance of the general good affections of the county of Kent ; insomuch as the people had with difficulty been restrained from making some attempt, upon the confidence of their own strength ; and if there could be now such a foundation laid, that there might be a conjunction between that and Suffex, it might produce an association little inferior to that of the southern counties under the Earl of Manchester ; and might, by the spring, be an occasion of that distraction to the Parliament, that they should not well know to what part to dispose their armies ; and the King might apply his own to that part and purpose, as should seem most reasonable to him.

These and other reasons prevailing, the King gave the Lord Hopton order to prosecute his design upon Suffex, in such manner as he thought fit ; provided, that he was well assured, that Waller should not make advantage,

tage, upon that enterprize, to find the way open to him to march into the West. And that he might be the better able to prosecute the one, and to provide for the other, Sir Jacob Astley was likewise sent to him from Reading, with a thousand commanded men of that garrison, Wallingford, and Oxford; which supply no sooner arrived at Winchester, but the Lord Hopton resolved to visit Waller's quarters, if it were possible to engage him; however that he might judge by the posture he was in, whether he were like to pursue his purpose for the West. Waller was then quartered at Farnham, and the villages adjacent, from whence he drew out his men, and faced the enemy, as if he intended to fight, but, after some light skirmishes for a day or two, in which he always received loss, he retired himself into the castle of Farnham, a place of some strength; and drew his army into the town; and, within three or four days, went himself to London, more effectually to solicit recruits, than his letters had been able to do.

When the Lord Hopton saw that he could attempt no farther upon those troops, and was fully assured that Sir William Waller was himself gone to London, he concluded, that it was a good time to comply with the opportunity of the gentlemen of Suffex; and marched thither, with such a body of horse and foot, as he thought competent for the service. The exceeding hard frost made his march more easy through those deep dirty ways, than better weather would have done; and he came to Arundel before there was any imagination that he had that place in his prospect. The place in its situation was strong; and though the fortifications were not regular, but of the old fashion, yet the walls were good, and the graff broad, and deep; and though the garrison was not numerous enough to have defended all the large circuit

cuit against a powerful army, yet it was strong enough, in all respects, to have defied any sudden assault; and might, without putting themselves to much trouble, have been very secure against the attempts of those without. But the provisions of victual, or ammunition, was not sufficient to have endured any long siege; and the officer who commanded had not been accustomed to the prospect of an enemy. So upon an easy and short summons, that threatened his obstinacy with a very rigorous chastisement, if he should defer the giving it up; either from the effect of his own fear, and want of courage, or from the good inclinations of some of the foldiers, the castle was surrendered the third day; and appeared to be a place worth the keeping, and capable, in a short time, to be made secure against a good army.

Arundel
castle sur-
rendered to
the Lord
Hopton:

The Lord Hopton, after he had stayed there five or six days, and caused provisions of all kinds to be brought in, committed the command and government thereof to Sir Edward Ford, High Sheriff of the county, with a garrison of above two hundred men; besides many good officers; who desired, or were very willing, to stay there; as a place very favourable for the making levies of men, which they all intended. And, it may be, the more remained there, out of the weariness and fatigue of their late marches, and that they might spend the remainder of the winter with better accommodation.

The news of Sir William Waller's return to Farnham with strong recruits of horse and foot, made it necessary to the Lord Hopton to leave Arundel castle before he had put it into the good posture he intended. And, without well considering the mixture of the men he left there, whereof many were of natures not easy to be governed, nor like to conform themselves to such strict rules as the condition of the place required, or to use
that

that industry, as the exigence, they were like to be in, made necessary, the principal thing he recommended and enjoined to them was, "in the first place, setting all "other things aside, to draw in store of provisions of all "kinds, both for the numbers they were already, and for "such as would probably in a short time be added to "them;" all which, from the great plenty that country then abounded in, was very easy to have been done. And if it had been done, that place would have remained long such a thorn in the side of the Parliament, as would have rendered it very uneasy to them, at least have interrupted the current of their prosperity.

Waller's journey to London answered his expectation; and his presence had an extraordinary operation, to procure any thing desired. He reported the Lord Hopton's forces to be much greater than they were, that his own might be made proportionable to encounter them. And the quick progress that lord had made in Sussex, and his taking Arundel castle, made them thought to be greater than he reported them to be. His so easily possessing himself of a place of that strength, which they supposed to have been impregnable, and in a county where the King had before no footing, awakened all their jealousies and apprehensions of the affections of Kent, and all other places; and looked like a land-flood, that might roll they knew not how far; so that there needed no importunate sollicitation to provide a remedy against this growing evil. The ordinary method they had used for recruiting their armies by levies of volunteers, and persuading the apprentices of the city to become soldiers, upon the privilege they gave them for their freedom, for the time they fought for them, as if they had remained in their master's service, was now too dull and lazy an expedient to resist this torrent; they therefore re-

fort to their inexhaustible magazine of men, their devoted city, to whose affections the person of Sir William Waller was most acceptable; and persuaded them immediately to cause two of their strongest regiments of auxiliaries, to march out of the line to Farnham; which they consented to. Then they appointed the Earl of Essex to give his orders to Sir William Balfour, with one thousand of the horse of his army, likewise to observe Waller's commands; who, with this great addition of forces, made haste to his other troops at Farnham; where he scarce rested, but after he had informed himself how the Lord Hopton's troops lay quartered, at too great a distance from each other, he marched, according to his custom in those occasions, (as beating up of quarters was his master-piece), all the night; and, by the break of day, encompassed a great village called Alton, where a troop or two of horse, and a regiment of foot of the King's lay in too much security. However, the horse took the alarm quickly, and for the most part made their escape to Winchester, the head quarter; whither the Lord Hopton was returned but the night before from Arundel. Colonel Boles, who commanded his own regiment of foot there, consisting of about five hundred men, which had been drawn out of the garrison of Wallingford, when he found himself encompassed by the enemy's army of horse and foot, saw he could not defend himself, or make other resistance than by retiring with his men into the church, which he hoped to maintain for so many hours, that relief might be sent to him; but he had not time to barricado the doors; so that the enemy entered almost as soon; and after a short resistance, in which many were killed, the soldiers, overpowered, threw down their arms, and asked quarter; which was likewise offered to the Colonel; who refused it, and valiantly defended himself, till,
with

with the death of two or three of the assailants, he was killed in the place; his enemies giving him a testimony of great courage and resolution.

Waller knew well the impression the loss of this very good regiment would make upon the Lord Hopton's forces, and that the report which the troops of horse which had escaped would make, would add nothing of courage to their fellows; so that there was no probability that they would make haste to advance; and therefore, with great celerity, the hard frost continuing, he marched with all his army to Arundel castle, where he found that garrison as unprovided as he could wish. For instead of increasing the magazine of victual by supplies from the country, they had spent much of that store which the Lord Hopton had provided. The Governor was a man of honesty and courage, but unacquainted with that affair, having no other experience in war, than what he had learned since these troubles. The officers were many without command, amongst whom one Colonel Barnford, an Irishman, though he called himself Barnfield, was one; who, being a man of wit and parts, applied all his faculties to improve the faction, to which they were all naturally inclined, with a hope to make himself governor. In this distraction Waller found them, and by some of the soldiers running out to him, he found means again to send in to them; by which he so increased their faction and animosity against one another, that, after he had kept them waking, with continual alarms, three or four days, near half the men being sick, and unable to do duty, rather than they would trust each other longer, they gave the place and themselves up as prisoners of war upon quarter; the place being able to have defended It is retaken by Sir Will. Waller. itself against all that power, for a much longer time. Here the learned and eminent Mr. Chillingworth was taken

taken prisoner; who, out of kindness and respect to the Lord Hopton, had accompanied him in that march; and, being indisposed by the terrible coldness of the season, chose to repose himself in that garrison, till the weather should mend. As soon as his person was known, which would have drawn reverence from any noble enemy, the clergy that attended that army prosecuted him with all the inhumanity imaginable; so that, by their barbarous usage, he died within few days; to the grief of all that knew him, and of many who knew him not but by his book, and the reputation he had with learned men.

The Lord Hopton sustained the loss of that regiment with extraordinary trouble of mind, and as a wound that would bleed inward; and therefore was the more inflamed with desire of a battle with Waller, to make even all accounts; and made what haste he could, upon the first advertisement, to have redeemed that misfortune; and hoped to have come time enough to relieve Arundel castle; which he never suspected would so tamely have given themselves up: but that hope quickly vanished, upon the undoubted intelligence of that surrender, and the news that Waller was returned with a full resolution to prosecute his design upon the West: to which, besides the encouragement of his two late successes, with which he was marvellously elated, he was in some degree necessitated, out of apprehension that the horse, which belonged to the Earl of Essex's army, might be speedily recalled; and the time would be quickly expired, that he had promised the auxiliary regiments of London to dismiss them.

Upon the news the King received of the great supply the Parliament had so suddenly sent to Waller, both from the Earl of Essex's army, and from the city, he thought it necessary to send such an addition of foot as
he

he could draw out of Oxford, and the neighbour garrisons. And the Earl of Brentford, General of the army, who had a fast friendship with the Lord Hopton, expressing a good inclination to make him a visit, rather than to sit still in his winter quarters, his Majesty was very willing he should, and cherished that disposition, being desirous that so great an officer might be present in an army, upon which so much of his hopes depended; and which did not abound with officers of great experience. So the General, with such volunteers as were ready to accompany him, went to Winchester; where he found the Lord Hopton in trouble for the loss of the regiment of foot at Alton, and with the unexpected assurance of the giving up of Arundel castle. He was exceedingly revived with the presence of the General, and desired to receive his orders, and that he would take upon him the absolute command of the troops; which he as positively refused to do; only offered to keep him company in all expeditions, and to give him the best assistance he was able; which the Lord Hopton was compelled to be contented with: nor could there be a greater union and consent between two friends; the General being ready to give his advice upon all particulars; and the other doing nothing without communication with him, and then conforming to his opinion, and giving orders accordingly.

As soon as they were informed that Waller had drawn all his troops together about Farnham, and meant to march towards them, they cheerfully embraced the occasion, and went to meet him; and about Alresford, near the midway between Winchester and Farnham, they came to know how near they were to each other; and, being in view, chose the ground upon which they meant the battle should be fought; of which

which Waller, being first there, got the advantage for the drawing up his horse. The King's army consisted of about five thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and Waller, with Sir William Balfour, exceeded in horse; but they were upon the matter equal in foot; with this only advantage, that both his horse and foot were, as they were always, much better armed; no man wanting any weapon, offensive or defensive, that was proper for him; and Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of cuirassiers, called the *Lobsters*, was so formidable, that the King's naked and unarmed troops, among which few were better armed than with swords, could not bear their impression.

The battle
at Alres-
ford, where
Sir W. Wal-
ler had the
advantage
over the
Lord Hop-
ton.

The King's horse never behaved themselves so ill as that day. For the main body of them, after they had sustained one fierce charge, wheeled about to an unreasonable distance, and left their principal officers to shift for themselves. The foot behaved themselves very gallantly, and had not only the better of the other foot, but bore two or three charges from the horse with notable courage, and without being broken: whilst those horse, which stood upon the field, and should have assisted them, could be persuaded but to stand. When the evening drew near, for the approach whereof neither party was sorry, the Lord Hopton thought it necessary to leave the field; and drawing off his men, and carrying with him many of the wounded, he retired with all his cannon and ammunition, whereof he lost none, that night to Reading: the enemy being so scattered, that they had no mind to pursue; only Waller himself made haste to Winchester, where he thought, upon this success, to have been immediately admitted into that castle; which was his own inheritance. But he found that too well defended; and so returned with taking re-
venge

venge upon the city, by plundering it with all the insolence and rapine imaginable.

There could not then be any other estimate made of the loss Waller sustained, than by the not pursuing the visible advantage he had, and by the utter refusal of the auxiliary regiments of London and Kent to march farther; who within three or four days left him, and returned to their habitations, with great lamentation of their friends who were missing. On the King's side, besides common men, and many good officers, there fell that day the Lord John Stuart, brother to the Duke of Richmond, and General of the horse of that army; and Sir John Smith, brother to the Lord Carrington, and Commissary General of the horse. They were both brought off the field by the few horse that stayed with them, and did their duty; carried to Reading; and the next day to Abingdon, that they might be nearer to the assistance of the best remedies by physicians and surgeons. But they lived only to the second dressing of their wounds, which were very many upon both of them.

The former was a young man of extraordinary hope, little more than one and twenty years of age; who, being of a more choleric and rough nature than the other branches of that illustrious and princely family, was not delighted with the softnesses of the court, but had dedicated himself to the profession of arms, when he did not think the scene should have been in his own country. His courage was so signal that day, that too much could not be expected from it, if he had outlived it; and he was so generally beloved, that he could not but be very generally lamented. The other, Sir John Smith, had been trained up from his youth in the war of Flanders; being of an ancient Roman Catholic family; and had

had long the reputation of one of the best officers of horse. As soon as the first troubles appeared in Scotland, he betook himself to the service of his own Prince; and, from the beginning of the war to his own end, performed many signal actions of courage. The death of these two eminent officers made the names of many who perished that day the less inquired into and mentioned.

This battle was fought the 29th. day of March; which was a very doleful entering into the beginning of the year 1644, and broke all the measures, and altered the whole scheme, of the King's counsels: for whereas before, he hoped to have entered the field early, and to have acted an offensive part; he now discerned he was wholly to be upon the defensive; and that was like to be a very hard part too. For he found, within very few days after, that he was not only deprived of the men he had lost at Alresford, but that he was not to expect any recruit of his army by a conjunction with Prince Rupert; who, he believed, would have returned in time, after his great success at Newark, with a strong body both of horse and foot, from Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales: all which hopes were soon blasted; for the Prince had scarce put the garrison of Newark in order, and provided it to endure another attack, which they might have reasonably expected upon his Highness's departure, (though indeed the shame of the defeat he had given that party, and the rage among the officers and soldiers, when they saw by what a handful of men they had been terrified and subdued, broke and dissolved that whole body within few days), when he was earnestly pressed from the Earl of Derby to come into Lancashire to relieve him, who was already besieged in his own strong house at Latham by a great body, with whom he was not able to contend. And to dispose the
Prince

Prince the more willingly to undertake his relief, the Earl made ample promises, "that within so many days after the siege should be raised, with any defeat to the enemy, he would advance his Highness's levies with two thousand men, and supply him with a considerable sum of money." And the Earl had likewise, by an express, made the same instance to the King at Oxford; from whence his Majesty sent his permission and approbation to the Prince, before his departure from Newark; hoping still that his Highness would be able to dispatch that service in Lancashire, and with the more notable recruits of men in those parts, be able to return to Oxford by the time that it would be necessary for his Majesty to take the field. But within a short time he was disappointed of that expectation; for before the Prince could finish his expedition into Lancashire, (which he did with wonderful gallantry; raised the siege at Latham with a great execution upon the enemy; and took two or three of their garrisons obstinately defended, and therefore with the greater slaughter), the Marquis of Newcastle was compelled to retire, with his whole army, within the walls of York. He had been well able to have defended himself against the numerous army of the Scots, and would have been glad to have been engaged with them; but he found he had a worse enemy to deal with, as will appear.

From the time that the ruling party of the Parliament discerned that their General, the Earl of Essex, would never serve their turn, or comply with all their desires, they resolved to have another army apart, that should be more at their devotion; in the forming whereof, they would be sure to choose such officers, as would probably not only observe their orders, but have the same inclinations with them. Their pretence was, "that

"there

The association of several counties formed under the Earl of Manchester.

“ there were so many disaffected persons of the nobility, “ and principal gentry, in the counties of Norfolk and “ Suffolk, that, if great care was not taken to prevent it, “ there might a body start up there for the King; which, “ upon the success of the Marquis of Newcastle, whose “ arms then reached into Lincolnshire, might grow very “ formidable.” For prevention whereof, they had formed an association between Essex, (a county, upon the influence of the Earl of Warwick, and the power of his clergy, they most confided in), Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Norfolk, Bedford, and Huntingdon; in all which they had many persons of whose entire affections they were well assured; and, in most of them, there were few considerable persons who wished them ill. Of this association they had made the Earl of Manchester General, to be subject only to their own commands, and independent upon the Earl of Essex. Under him, they chose Oliver Cromwell to command their horse; and many other officers, who never intended to be subject again to the King, and avowed other principles in conscience and religion, than had been before publicly declared.

To this General they gave order “ to reside within “ that association; and to make levies of men, sufficient “ to keep those counties in obedience:” for at first they pretended no more. But, in the secret treaty made by Sir Harry Vane with the Scots, they were bound, as soon as the Scots should enter into Yorkshire with their army, that a body of English horse, foot, and cannon, should be ready to assist them, commanded by their own officers, as a body apart: the Scots not then trusting their own great numbers, as equal to fight with the English. And from that time they were much more careful to raise, and liberally supply, and provide for that army under the Earl of Manchester, than for the
other

other under the Earl of Essex. And now, according to their agreement, upon the Scots' first entrance into Yorkshire, the Earl of Manchester had likewise order to march with his whole body thither; having, for the most part, a committee of the Parliament, whereof Sir Harry Vane was one, with him; as there was another committee of the Scottish Parliament always in that army; there being also now a committee of both kingdoms residing at London, for the carrying on the war.

The Earl of Manchester is ordered with his army to march into the North to join the Scots.

The Marquis of Newcastle, being thus pressed on both sides, was necessitated to draw all his army of foot and cannon into York, with some troops of horse; and sent the body of his horse, under the command of General Goring, to remain in those places he should find most convenient, and from whence he might best infect the enemy. Then he sent an express to the King, to inform him of the condition he was in; and to let him know, "that he doubted not to defend himself in that post for the term of six weeks, or two months; in which time he hoped his Majesty would find some way to relieve him." Upon receipt of this letter, the King sent orders to Prince Rupert, that "as soon as he had relieved the Lord Derby, and recruited, and refreshed his men, he should march, with what expedition he could, to relieve York; where being joined with the Marquis of Newcastle's army, there was hope they might fight the enemy: and his Majesty would put himself into as good a posture as he could to take the field, without expecting the Prince."

All these ill accidents falling out successively in the winter, the King's condition appeared very sad; and the Queen being now with child, it wrought upon her Majesty's mind very much; and disposed her to so many fears and apprehensions of her safety, that she was

The Queen retires from Oxford to Exeter.

very uneasy to herself. She heard every day "of the great forces raised, and in a readiness, by the Parliament, much greater than they yet ever had been ;" which was very true ; and "that they resolved, as soon as the season was ripe, to march all to Oxford." She could not endure to think of being besieged ; and, in conclusion, resolved not to stay there, but to go into the West ; from whence, in any distress, she might be able to embark for France. Though there seemed reasons enough to dissuade her from that inclination, and his Majesty heartily wished that she could be diverted, yet the perplexity of her mind was so great, and her fears so vehement, both improved by her indisposition of health, that all civility and reason obliged every body to submit. So, about the beginning of April, she began her journey from Oxford to the West ; and, by moderate journeys, came well to Exeter ; where she intended to stay till she was delivered ; for she was within little more than one month of her time ; and, being in a place out of the reach of any alarm, she recovered her spirits to a reasonable convalescence.

It was now about the middle of April, when it concerned the King with all possible sagacity, to foresee what probably the Parliament meant to attempt with those vast numbers of men which they every day levied ; and thereupon to conclude, what it would be possible for his Majesty to do, in those exigences to which he was like to be reduced. The intelligence, that Waller was still designed for the western expedition, made the King appoint his whole army to be drawn together to a rendezvous at Marlborough ; where himself was present, and, to his great satisfaction, found the body to consist, after all the losses and misadventures, of no less than six thousand foot, and above four thousand horse. There
that

that body remained for some weeks, to watch and intend Waller's motion, and to fight with him as soon as was possible. Many things were there consulted for the future; and the quitting Reading, and some other garrisons, proposed, for the increasing the field forces: yet nothing was positively resolved, but to expect clearer evidence what the Parliament armies would dispose themselves to do.

So the King returned to Oxford, where, upon the desire of the members of Parliament who had been called thither, and done all the service they could for the King, they were for the present dismissed, that they might, in their several counties, satisfy the people of the King's importunate desire of peace, but how insolently it had been rejected by the Parliament; and thereupon induce them to contribute all they could to his Majesty's assistance. They were to meet there again in the month of October following.

The Parliament at Oxford prorogued to October.

Then, that his Majesty might draw most of the soldiers of that garrison with him out of Oxford, when he should take the field, that city was persuaded to complete the regiment they had begun to form, under the command of a Colonel whom the King had recommended to them; which they did raise to the number of a thousand men. There were likewise two other regiments raised of gentlemen and their servants, and of the scholars of the several Colleges and Halls of the University; all which regiments did duty there punctually, from the time that the King went into the field, till he returned again to Oxford; and all the Lords declared, "that, upon any emergent occasion, they would mount their servants upon their horses, to make a good troop for a sudden service;" which they made

good; and thereby, that summer, performed two or three very considerable and important actions.

By this time there was reason to believe, by all the intelligence that could be procured, and by the change of his quarters, that Waller had laid aside his western march; at least that it was suspended; and that, on the contrary, all endeavours were used to recruit both his and the Earl of Essex's army, with all possible expedition; and that neither of them should move upon any action till they should be both complete in greater numbers, than either of them had yet marched with. Hereupon, the King's army removed from Marlborough to Newbury; where they remained near a month, that they might be in a readiness to attend the motion of the enemy, and to assist the garrisons of Reading, or Wallingford; or to draw out either, as there should be occasion.

There had been several deliberations in the council of war, and always very different opinions, what should be done with the garrisons when the King should take the field; and the King himself was irresolute upon those debates, what to do. He communicated the several reasons to Prince Rupert by letters, requiring his advice; who, after he had returned answers, and received replies, made a hasty journey to Oxford from Chester, to wait upon his Majesty. And it was then positively resolved, "that the garrisons of Oxford, Wallingford, Abingdon, "Reading, and Banbury, should be reinforced, and "strengthened with all the foot; that a good body of "horse should remain about Oxford, and the rest should "be sent into the West to Prince Maurice." If this counsel had been pursued steadily and resolutely, it might probably have been attended with good success. Both
armies

armies of the enemy would have been puzzled what to have done, and either of them would have been unwilling to have engaged in a siege against any place so well provided and resolved; and it would have been equally unpunishable to have marched to any distance, and have left such an enemy at their backs, that could so easily and quickly have united, and incommoded any march they could have made.

But as it was even impossible to have administered such advice to the King, in the strait he was in, which being pursued might not have proved inconvenient, so it was the unhappy temper of those who were called to those councils, that resolutions, taken upon full debate, were seldom prosecuted with equal resolution and steadiness; but changed upon new, shorter debates, and upon objections which had been answered before: some men being in their natures irresolute and inconstant, and full of objections, even after all was determined according to their own proposals; others being positive, and not to be altered from what they had once declared, how unreasonably soever, or what alterations soever there were in the affairs. And the King himself frequently considered more the person who spoke, as he was in his grace or his prejudice, than the counsel itself that was given; and always suspected, at least trusted less to his own judgment than he ought to have done; which rarely deceived him so much as that of other men.

The persons with whom he only consulted in his martial affairs, and how to carry on the war, were (besides Prince Rupert, who was at this time absent) the General, who was made Earl of Brentford; the Lord Wilmot, who was General of the horse; the Lord Hopton, who usually commanded an army apart, and was not often with the King's army, but now present;

Sir Jacob Astley, who was Major General of the army ; the Lord Digby, who was Secretary of State ; and Sir John Colepepper, Master of the Rolls ; for none of the Privy Council, those two only excepted, were called to those consultations ; though some of them were still advised with, for the better execution, or prosecution, of what was then and there resolved.

The General, though he had been, without doubt, a very good officer, and had great experience, and was still a man of unquestionable courage and integrity ; yet he was now much decayed in his parts, and, with the long continued custom of immoderate drinking, dozed in his understanding, which had been never quick and vigorous ; he having been always illiterate to the greatest degree that can be imagined. He was now become very deaf, yet often pretended not to have heard what he did not then contradict, and thought fit afterwards to disclaim. He was a man of few words, and of great compliance, and usually delivered that as his opinion, which he foresaw would be grateful to the King.

Wilmot was a man of a haughty and ambitious nature, of a pleasant wit, and an ill understanding, as never considering above one thing at once ; but he considered that one thing so impatiently, that he would not admit any thing else to be worth any consideration. He had, from the beginning of the war, been very averse to any advice of the Privy Council, and thought fit that the King's affairs (which depended upon the success of the war) should entirely be governed and conducted by the soldiers, and men of war, and that no other counsellors should have any credit with his Majesty. Whilst Prince Rupert was present, his exceeding great prejudice, or rather personal animosity against him, made any thing that Wilmot said or proposed, enough slighted and contradicted ;

tradicted : and the King himself, upon some former account and observation, was far from any indulgence to his person, or esteem of his parts. But now, by the Prince's absence, and his being the second man in the army, and the contempt he had of the old General, who was there the only officer above him, he grew marvelously elated, and looked upon himself as one whose advice ought to be followed, and submitted to in all things. He had, by his excessive good fellowship, (in every part whereof he excelled, and was grateful to all the company), made himself so popular with all the officers of the army, especially of the horse, that he had, in truth, a very great interest ; which he desired might appear to the King, that he might have the more interest in him. He was positive in all his advices in council, and bore contradiction very impatiently ; and because he was most contradicted by the two Privy Counsellors, the Secretary, and the Master of the Rolls, who, he saw, had the greatest influence upon the King, he used all the artifices he could to render them unacceptable and suspected to the officers of the army, by telling them what they had said in council ; which he thought would render them the more ungrateful ; and, in the times of jollity, persuaded the old General to believe that they invaded his prerogative, and meddled more in the business of the war, than they ought to do ; and thereby made him the less disposed to concur with them in advice, how rational and seasonable soever it was ; which often put the King to the trouble of converting him.

The Lord Hopton was a man superior to any temptation, and abhorred enough the license, and the levities, with which he saw too many corrupted. He had a good understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a generosity that was not to be exhausted ; a

virtue that none of the rest had : but, in the debates concerning the war, was longer in resolving, and more apt to change his mind after he had resolved, than is agreeable to the office of a commander in chief ; which rendered him rather fit for the second, than for the supreme command in an army.

Sir Jacob Astley was an honest, brave, plain man, and as fit for the office he exercised, of Major General of the foot, as Christendom yielded ; and was so generally esteemed ; very discerning and prompt in giving orders, as the occasions required, and most cheerful, and present in any action. In council he used few, but very pertinent words ; and was not at all pleased with the long speeches usually made there ; and which rather confounded, than informed his understanding : so that he rather collected the ends of the debates, and what he was himself to do, than enlarged them by his own discourses ; though he forbore not to deliver his own mind.

The two Privy Counsellors, though they were of the most different natures and constitutions that can be imagined, always agreed in their opinions ; and being, in their parts, much superior to the other, usually prevailed upon the King's judgment to like what they approved : yet one of them, who had in those cases the ascendant over the other, had that excess of fancy, that he too often, upon his own recollecting and revolving the grounds of the resolutions which had been taken, or upon the suggestions of other men, changed his own mind ; and thereupon caused orders to be altered, which produced, or were thought to produce, many inconveniences.

This unsteadiness in counsels, and in matters resolved upon, made the former determination concerning the garrisons to be little considered. The King's army had
lain

lain above three weeks at and about Newbury; in which time their numbers were nothing improved, beyond what they had been upon their muster near Marlborough, when the King was present. When it was known that both the Parliament armies were marched out of London; that under Essex to Windsor; and that of Waller, to the parts between Hertford Bridge and Basing, without any purpose of going farther West; the King's army marched to Reading; and in three days, his Majesty being present, they slighted and demolished all the works of that garrison: and then, which was about the middle of May, with the addition of those soldiers, which increased the army five and twenty hundred old soldiers more, very well officered, the army retired to the quarters about Oxford, with an opinion, that it would be in their power to fight with one of the enemy's armies; which they longed exceedingly to do.

Reading
quitted by
the King's
forces.

The King returned to Oxford, and resolved to stay there till he could have better information what the enemy intended; which was not now so easy as it had formerly been. For, since the conjunction with the Scottish commissioners in one council, for the carrying on the war, little business was brought to be consulted in either of the Houses; and there was much greater secrecy than before; few or none being admitted into any kind of trust, but they whose affections were known to concur to the most desperate counsels. So that the designs were still entirely formed, before any part of them were communicated to the Earl of Essex; nor was more communicated at a time than was necessary for the present execution; of which he was sensible enough, but could not help it. The intention was, "that the two armies, "which marched out together, should afterward be distinct; and should only keep together, till it appeared
" what

“ what course the King meant to take ; and if he stayed
“ in Oxford, it would be fit for both to be in the siege ;
“ the circumvallation being very great, and to be divided
“ in many places by the river ; which would keep both
“ armies still asunder under their several officers.” But
if the King marched out, which they might reasonably
presume he would, then the purpose was, “ that the Earl
“ of Essex should follow the King, wherever he went ;”
which they imagined would be northward ; “ and
“ that Waller should march into the West, and subdue
“ that.” So that, having so substantially provided for the
North by the Scots, and the Earl of Manchester ; and
having an army under the Earl of Essex, much superior
in number to any the King could be attended with ; and
the third, under Waller, at liberty for the West ; they
promised themselves, and too reasonably, that they should
make an end of the war that summer.

It was about the tenth of May, that the Earl of Essex
and Sir William Waller marched out of London, with
both their armies ; and the very next day after the King’s
army had quitted Reading, the Earl of Essex, from
Windfor, sent forces to possess it ; and recommended it
to the city of London, to provide both men, and all
other things necessary for the keeping it ; which the me-
mory of what they had suffered for the two past years,
by being without it, easily disposed them to do. By
this means the Earl had the opportunity to join with
Waller’s army when he should think fit ; which before
they could not do with convenience or security. Nor
did they ever after join in one body, but kept at a fit
distance, to be able, if there were occasion, to help each
other.

The Earl of Essex’s army consisted of all his old
troops, which had wintered about St. Albans, and in Bed-
fordshire ;

fordshire; and being now increased with four régiments of the Trained Bands, and auxiliaries within the city of London, did not amount to less than ten thousand horse and foot. Waller had likewise received a large recruit from London, Kent, and Suffex; and was little inferior in numbers to Essex, and in reputation above him. When the King's army retired from Reading, the horse quartered about Wantage and Farringdon, and all the foot were put into Abingdon, with a resolution to quit or defend that town, according to the manner of the enemy's advance towards it; that is, if they came upon the east side, where, besides some indifferent fortifications, they had the advantage of the river, they would maintain and defend it; if they came on the west side from Wantage and Farringdon, they would draw out and fight, if the enemy were not by much superior in number; and, in that case, they would retire with the whole army to Oxford.

Being satisfied with this resolution, they lay in that quiet posture, without making the least impression upon the enemy, by beating up his quarters; which might easily have been done; or restraining them from making incursions where they had a mind; all which was imputed to the ill humour and negligence of Wilmot. The Earl of Essex advanced with his army towards Abingdon; and upon the east part of the town; which was that which they had hoped for, in order to their defending it. But they were no sooner advertised of it, but the General, early the next morning, marched with all the foot out of Abingdon, the horse being come thither in the night to make good the retreat: and all this was done before his Majesty had the least notice or suspicion of it. As soon as his Majesty was informed of it by Sir Charles Blunt,

Abingdon
quitted by
the King's
forces.

Blunt, the Scout Master-General, whom the General had sent to acquaint the King with the resolution, he sent Sir Charles Blunt back to the General, to let him know the great dislike he had of their purpose to quit the town, and to command him to stay, and not to advance till his Majesty came to him; which he made all possible haste to do. But before the messenger could return, the army was within sight of Oxford; and so the foot was drawn through the city, and the horse quartered in the villages about the town.

Possessed by
the Earl of
Essex.

Abingdon was in this manner, and to the King's infinite trouble, quitted; whither a party of Essex's army came the same night; and the next day, himself with all his foot entered the town; his horse being quartered about it. He then called Waller to bring up his army near him, that they might resolve in what manner to proceed; and he had his head quarter at Wantage: and so, without the striking one blow, they got the possession of Reading, Abingdon; and were masters of all Berkshire; and forced the King to draw his whole army of horse and foot on the north side of Oxford; where they were to feed on his own quarters, and to consider how to keep Oxford itself from being besieged, and the King from being inclosed in it.

This was the deplorable condition to which the King was reduced before the end of the month of May; inso-much that it was generally reported at London, "that Oxford was taken, and the King a prisoner;" and others more confidently gave it out, "that his Majesty resolved to come to London:" of which the Parliament was not without some apprehension, though not so much, as of the King's putting himself into the hands of the Earl of Essex, and into his protection; which they could not endure

endure to think of; and this troubled them so much, that the committee of both kingdoms, who conducted the war, writ this letter to their General.

“ My Lord,

“ We are credibly informed, that his Majesty intends
 “ to come for London. We desire you, that you will
 “ do your endeavour to inform yourself of the same; and
 “ if you think that his Majesty intends at all to come
 “ to the armies, that you acquaint us with the same; and
 “ do nothing therein, until the Houses shall give direc-
 “ tion.”

So much jealousy they had of the Earl, and the more, because they saw not else what the King could do; who could not entertain any reasonable expectation of increase, or addition of force from the North, or from the West; Prince Rupert being then in his march into Lancashire, for the relief of the Earl of Derby, (besieged in his castle of Latham), and Prince Maurice being still engaged in the unfortunate siege of Lyme in Dorsetshire, a little fisher-town; which, after he had lain before it a month, was much more like to hold out, than it was the first day he came before it. In this perplexity, the King sent the Lord Hopton to Bristol, to provide better for the security of that important city; where he knew Waller had many friends; and himself resolved yet to stay at Oxford, till he saw how the two armies would dispose themselves; that, when they were so divided that they could not presently join, he might fight with one of them; which was the greatest hope he had now left.

It was very happy that the two armies lay so long quiet near each other, without pressing the advantages they had, or improving the confusion and distraction, which the King's forces were, at that time, too much inclined

clined to. Orders were given so to quarter the King's army, that it might keep the rebels from passing over either of the rivers, Cherwell, or Isis, which run on the east and west sides of the city; the foot being, for the most part, quartered towards the Cherwell, and the horse, with some dragoons, near the Isis.

In this posture all the armies lay quiet, and without action, for the space of a day; which somewhat composed the minds of those within Oxford, and of the troops without; which had not yet recovered their dislike of their having quitted Abingdon, and thereby of being so straitened in their quarters. Some of Waller's forces attempted to pass the Isis at Newbridge, but were repulsed by the King's dragoons. But the next day Essex, with his whole army, got over the Thames at Sandford ferry, and marched to Islip, where he made his quarters; and, in his way, made a halt upon Bullington-Green, that the city might take a full view of his army, and he of it. In order to which, himself, with a small party of horse, came within cannon shot; and little parties of horse came very near the ports, and had light skirmishes with some of the King's horse, without any great hurt on either side.

The next morning, a strong party of the Earl's army endeavoured to pass over the Cherwell, at Gosworth-bridge; but were repulsed by the musqueteers with very considerable loss; and so retired to their body. And now the Earl being engaged, with his whole army, on the east side of the river Cherwell, whereby he was disabled to give or receive any speedy assistance to or from Waller; the King resolved to attempt the repossessing himself of Abingdon, and to take the opportunity to fight with Waller singly, before he could be relieved from the other army. In order to this, all the foot
were

were in the evening drawn off from the guard of the passes, and marched through Oxford in the night towards Abingdon; and the Earl of Cleveland, a man of signal courage, and an excellent officer upon any bold enterprise, advanced, with a party of one hundred and fifty horse, to the town itself; where there were a thousand foot, and four hundred horse of Waller's army; and entered the same, and killed many, and took some prisoners: but, upon the alarm, he was so overpowered, that his prisoners escaped, though he killed the chief commander, and made his retreat good, with the loss only of two officers, and as many common soldiers; and so both the attempt upon Abingdon was given over, and the design of fighting Waller laid aside; and the army returned again to their old post, on the north side of Oxford.

Sir Jacob Astley undertook the command himself at Gosworth-bridge, where he perceived the Earl intended to force his passage; and presently cast up breast-works, and made a redoubt for the defence of his men, and repulsed the enemy, the second time, very much to their damage and loss; who renewed their assault two or three days together, and planted cannon to facilitate their passage, which did little hurt; but they still lost many men in the attempt. On the other side, Waller's forces from Abingdon did not find the new bridge so well defended; but overpowering those guards, and having got boats, in which they put over their men, both above and below, they got that passage over the river Isis: by which they might have brought over all their army, and fallen upon the King's rear, whilst he was defending the other side.

It was now high time for the King to provide for his own security, and to escape the danger he was in, of
being

being shut up in Oxford. Waller lost no time, but the next day passed over five thousand horse and foot, by Newbridge: the van whereof quartered at Ensharn, and, the King's foot being drawn off from Gosworth-bridge, Essex immediately brought his men over the Cherwell; and quartered that night at Blechingdon; many of his horse advancing to Woodstock; so that the King seemed to them to be perfectly shut in between them; and to his own people, his condition seemed so desperate, that one of those with whom he used to advise in his most secret affairs, and whose fidelity was never suspected, proposed to him to render himself, upon conditions, to the Earl of Essex; which his Majesty rejected with great indignation; yet had the goodness to conceal the name of the proposer; and said, "that possibly he might be found in the hands of the Earl of Essex, but he would be dead first." Word was given, "for all the horse to be together, at such an hour," to expect orders; and a good body of foot, with cannon, marched through the town towards Abingdon; by which it was concluded, that both armies would be amused, and Waller induced to draw back over Newbridge: and, as soon as it was evening, the foot, and cannon, returned to their old post on the north side.

The King resolved, for the encouragement of the Lords of the Council, and the persons of quality who were in Oxford, to leave his son the Duke of York there; and promised, if they should be besieged, "to do all he could to relieve them, before they should be reduced to extremity." He appointed then, "that two thousand and five hundred choice musqueteers should be drawn out of the whole foot, under the command of Sir Jacob Astley, and four experienced colonels; all which should, without colours, repair to the place where

“ where the horse attended to receive orders, and that
“ the rest of the foot should remain together on the
“ north side, and so be applied to the defence of Ox-
“ ford, if it should be besieged.”

All things being in this order, on Monday the third of June, about nine of the clock at night, the King, with the Prince, and those Lords, and others who were appointed to attend him, and many others of quality who were not appointed, and only thought themselves less secure if they should stay behind, marched out of the north port, attended by his own troop, to the place where the horse, and commanded foot, waited to receive them ; and from thence, without any halt, marched between the two armies, and by day-break were at Hanborough, some miles beyond all their quarters. But the King rested not till the afternoon, when he found himself at Burford ; and then concluded that he was in no danger to be overtaken by any army that was to follow with baggage, and a train of artillery : so that he was content to refresh his men there ; and supped himself ; yet was not without apprehension that he might be followed by a body of the enemy's horse ; and therefore, about nine of the clock, he continued his march from Burford over the Cotswold, and by midnight reached Burton upon the Water ; where he gave himself, and his wearied troops, more rest and refreshment.

The morning after the King left Oxford, the foot marched again through Oxford, as if they meant to go to Abingdon, to continue that amusement which the day before had prevailed with Waller, to send many of his men back, and to delay his own advance ; and likewise, that quarters might be provided for them against their return ; which they did by noon. The Earl of Essex had that morning, from Blechingdon, sent some horse

horse to take a view of Oxford, and to learn what was doing there. And they seeing the colours standing, as they had done two days before, made him conclude, that the King was still there, and as much in his power as ever. Waller had earlier intelligence of his Majesty's motion, and sent a good body of horse to follow him, and to retard his march, till he could come up: and his horse made such haste, that they found in Burford some of the straggling soldiers, who out of weariness, or for love of drink, had stayed behind their fellows. The Earl of Essex followed likewise with his army, and quartered at Chipping Norton; and Waller's horse were as far as Broadway, when the King had reached Evesham; where he intended to rest, as in a secure place; though his garrison at Tewkesbury had been, the night before, surpris'd by a strong party from Gloucester; the chief officers being killed, and the rest taken prisoners; most of the common soldiers making their escape, and coming to Evesham. But, upon intelligence that both armies followed by strong marches, and it being possible that they might get over the river Avon about Stratford, or some other place, and so get between the King and Worcester, his Majesty changed his purpose of staying at Evesham, and presently marched to Worcester, having given order for the breaking of the bridge at Pershore; which was, unwarily, so near done before all the troops were pass'd, that, by the sudden falling of an arch, Major Bridges, of the Prince's regiment, a man of good courage and conduct, with two or three other officers of horse, and about twenty common men, fell unfortunately into the Avon, and were drowned.

The Earl
of Essex
marches to-
wards the
West:

The Earl of Essex, when he saw the King was got full two days march before him, and that it was impossible so to overtake him, as to bring him into their power, resolved

resolved to pursue him no farther, but to consult what was else to be done ; and, to that purpose, called a council of all the principal officers of both armies, to attend him at Burford ; where it was resolved, “ that Waller, who “ had the lighter ordnance, and the less carriages, should “ have such an addition of forces, as Masséy, the “ Governor of Gloucester, should be able to furnish him “ with ; and so should pursue and follow the King “ wheresoever he should go ; and that the Earl of Essex, “ who had the greater ordnance, and the heavier carriages, “ should prosecute the other design of relieving Lyme, “ and reducing the West to the obedience of the Parli- “ ment.”

Waller opposed this resolution all he could ; and urged some order and determination of the committee of both kingdoms in the point ; and, “ that the West was as- “ signed to him, as his province, when the two armies “ should think fit to sever from each other.” However, Essex gave him positive orders, as his General, “ to “ march according to the advice of the council of war ;” which he durst not disobey, but sent grievous complaints to the Parliament, of the usage he was forced to submit to. And they at Westminster were so incensed against the Earl of Essex, that they writ a very angry and imperious letter to him, in which they reproached him, “ for not submitting to the directions which they had “ given ;” and required him “ to follow their former “ directions, and to suffer Waller to attend the service “ of the West.” Which letter was brought to him before he had marched above two days westward. But the Earl chose rather to answer their letter, than to obey their order ; and writ to them, “ that their directions had “ been contrary to the discipline of war, and to reason ; “ and that, if he should now return, it would be a great

“ encouragement to the enemy in all places ;” and subscribed his letter, “ Your innocent, though suspected servant, Effex ;” and then prosecuted his resolution, and continued his march for the West.

Waller to-
wards Wor-
cester, after
the King.

When Waller found there was no remedy, he obeyed his orders with much diligence and vigour ; and prosecuted his march towards Worcester, where his Majesty then was ; and, in his way, persuaded, rather than forced, the garrison of Sudely-castle, the strong house of the Lord Chandois, to deliver up that place to him. The Lord of that castle was a young man of spirit and courage ; and had for two years served the King very bravely in the head of a regiment of horse, which himself had raised at his own charge ; but had lately, out of pure weariness of the fatigue, and having spent most of his money, and without any diminution of his affection, left the King, under pretence of travel ; but making London his way, he gave himself up to the pleasures of that place ; which he enjoyed, without considering the issue of the war, or shewing any inclination to the Parliament ; nor did he, in any degree, contribute to the delivery of his house ; which was at first imagined, because it was so ill, or not at all, defended. It was under the government of Sir William Morton, a gentleman of the long robe ; who, in the beginning of the war, cast off his gown, as many other gallant men of that profession of the law did, and served as Lieutenant Colonel in the regiment of horse under the Lord Chandois ; and had given so frequent testimony of signal courage in several actions, in which he had received many wounds, both by the pistol and the sword, that his mettle was never suspected ; and his fidelity as little questioned : and after many years of imprisonment, sustained with great firmness and constancy, he lived to receive the reward of his merit, after the re-

turn

turn of the King ; who made him first a Serjeant at Law, and afterwards a Judge of the King's Bench ; where he sate many years, and discharged the office with much gravity and learning ; and was very terrible to those who chose to live by robbing on the highway. He was unfortunate, though without fault, in the giving up that castle in so unreasonable a conjuncture ; which was done by the faction and artifice of an officer within, who had found means to go out to Waller, and to acquaint him with the great wants of the garrison ; which indeed had not plenty of any thing : and so, by the mutiny of the soldiers, it was given up ; and the Governor made prisoner, and sent to the Tower ; where he remained some years after the end of the war. From hence Waller, with great expedition, marched to Evesham ; where the evil inhabitants received him willingly ; and had, as soon as the King left them, repaired their bridge over the Avon, to facilitate his coming to them ; which he could not else so soon have done.

The King rested some days at Worcester, whereby he very much refreshed his troops, which were there spared from doing duty ; and likewise, by the loyalty of that good town, and the affection of the gentry of that county, who retired thither for their security, he procured both shoes and stockings, and money for his soldiers : and then, upon good information, that Waller was marched out of Evesham with his whole army towards Worcester, which he would probably besiege, the King resolved not to be found there ; and therefore, having left that city well provided, and in good heart, his Majesty removed with his little army to Bewdley, that he might keep the river Severn between him and the enemy ; the foot being quartered together at Bewdley, and the horse by the side of the river towards Bridgenorth. The posture in which

expect, that all his foot, with their colours and cannon, would meet him; which, with unspeakable joy, they did. So that on Thursday the twentieth of June, which was within seventeen days after he had left Oxford in that disconsolate condition, the King found himself in the head of his army, from which he had been so severed, after so many accidents and melancholic perplexities, to which Majesty had been seldom exposed. Nor can all the circumstances of that peregrination be too particularly and punctually set down. For as they administered much delight after they were passed, and gave them great argument of acknowledging God's good providence in the preservation of the King, and, in a manner, snatching him as a brand out of the fire, and redeeming him even out of the hands of the rebels; so it cannot be ungrateful, or without some pleasure to posterity, to see the most exact relation of an action so full of danger in all respects, and of an escape so remarkable. And now the King thought himself in a posture not only to abide Waller, if he approached towards him, but to follow and find him out, if he had a mind, or did endeavour to decline fighting with his Majesty.

In the short time the King had been absent, the garrison at Oxford was not idle. When the King in the spring had prepared for the field, and in order thereunto had drawn out the garrison at Reading, it was thought to no purpose to keep lesser garrisons, at a less distance from Oxford; and thereupon the garrison at Bostallhouse, reputed a strong place, upon the edge of Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, was appointed to demolish the works and fortifications, and to retire, and join with the army: which was no sooner done, but the garrison at Aylesbury, that had felt the effects of the other's ill neighbourhood, possessed the place, and put a garrison
into

into it; which, after the King had left Oxford, and both the armies of Essex and Waller were gone from before it, gave little less trouble to that city, and obstructed the provisions which should come thither, almost as much as one of the armies had done. This brought great complaints and clamour from the country, and from the town, to the Lords of the Council; and was ever made an excuse for their not complying with the commands they sent out, for labourers to work upon the fortifications; which was the principal work in hand; or for any other service of the town. When both armies were drawn off to such a distance in following the King, that there seemed for the present no reasonable apprehension of being besieged, the Lords considered of a remedy to apply to this evil from Bostall-house; and receiving encouragement from Colonel Gage, (of whom they had a great esteem, and of whom we shall speak shortly more at large), who offered to undertake the reducing it, they appointed a party of commanded men of the foot, which the King had left there, with three pieces of cannon, and a troop of horse of the town, to obey his orders, who, by the break of day, appeared before the place; and in a short time, with little resistance, got possession of the church, and the out-houses, and then battered the house itself with his cannon; which they within would not long endure; but desired a parley. Upon which the house was rendered, with the ammunition, one piece of ordnance, which was all they had; and much good provision of victual, whereof they had plenty for horse and man; and had liberty given them to go away with their arms and horses; very easy conditions for so strong a post; which was obtained with the loss of one inferior officer, and two or three common men. Here the Colonel left a gar-
rison,

riſon, that did not only defend Oxford from thoſe miſchievous incurſions, but did very near ſupport itſelf, by the contribution it drew from Buckinghamſhire, beſides the prey it frequently took from the very neighbourhood of Ayleſbury.

The Earl of Eſſex, by ſlow and eaſy marches, and without any oppoſition or trouble, entered into Dorſetſhire; and by his great civility, and affability towards all men, and the very good diſcipline in his army, wrought very much upon the people. Inſomuch that his forces rather increaſed than diminifhed; which had, during his being before Oxford, been much leſſened, not only by the numbers which were killed and hurt, but by the running away of many, whiſt the ſharp encounters continued at Goſworth-bridge. It can hardly be imagined, how great a difference there was in the humour, diſpoſition, and manner of the army under Eſſex, and the other under Waller, in their behaviour and humanity towards the people; and, conſequently, in the reception they found among them; the demeanour and carriage of thoſe under Waller being much more ungentlemanly, and barbarous, than that of the other: beſides that the people, in all places, were not without ſome affection, and even reverence towards the Earl, who, as well upon his own account, as the memory of his father, had been always univerſally popular.

When he came to Blandford, he had a great mind to make himſelf maſter of Weymouth, if he could compaſs it without engaging his army before it; which he reſolved not to do; however it was little out of his way to paſs near it. Colonel Aſhburnham, then Governor of Weymouth, was made choice of for that command, upon the opinion of his courage and dexterity; and, to make way for him, Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper had been,

been, the year before, removed from that charge; and was thereby so much disobliged, that he quitted the King's party, and gave himself up, body and soul, to the service of the Parliament, with an implacable animosity against the royal interest. The Colonel had been intent upon other things, and not enough solicitous to finish the fortifications, which were not strong enough to defy an army, yet too strong to be delivered upon the approach of one. I shall say the less of this matter, because the Governor afterwards pressed to have the whole examined before a council of war, where he produced a warrant, under the hand of Prince Maurice, "that, the town being untenable, he should, upon the advance of the Earl of Essex, put a sufficient strength into Portland-castle, and retire thither;" which he had done; and was, by the council of war, absolved from any crime. Yet, the truth is, however absolved, he lost reputation by it; and was thought to have left the town too soon, though he meant to have returned again, after he had visited Portland. But in the mean time the townsmen mutinied, and sent to the Earl of Essex when he was near the town; whereupon he came thither; which he would not otherwise have done; and gave the garrison leave to march with their arms to Prince Maurice; and so became master of Weymouth; and, leaving men enough out of the country to defend it, without any delay he prosecuted his march to Lyme; from whence Prince Maurice, upon the news of the loss of Weymouth, had retired with haste enough towards Exeter, with a body of full five and twenty hundred foot, and eighteen hundred horse; after he had put a garrison of five hundred men into Wareham, and with some loss of reputation, for having lain so long with such a strength before so vile and untenable a place, without reducing it.

Weymouth
delivered to
the Earl of
Essex.

Lyme re-
lieved by
him.

As

As soon as the King had joined his army at **Witney**, which now consisted of full five thousand five hundred foot, and very near four thousand horse, with a convenient train of artillery, he resolved no longer to live upon his own quarters, which had been too much wasted by friends and enemies; but to visit the enemy's country; and so, the next day, he marched towards **Buckingham**, where he would stay and expect **Waller**, (of whose motion he yet heard nothing), and from whence, if he appeared not, his Majesty might enter into the associated counties, and so proceed northward, if, upon intelligence from thence, he found it reasonable. Whilst the King stayed at **Buckingham**, and thought himself now in a good condition to fight with the enemy, (his troops every day bringing in store of provisions, and, being now in a country where they were not expected, met with many cart-loads of wine, grocery, and tobacco, which were passing, as in secure roads, from **London** to **Coventry** and **Warwick**; all which were very welcome to **Buckingham**), a new and unexpected trouble fell upon him by the ill humour and faction in his own army. **Wilmot** continued still fullen and perverse; and every day grew more insolent; and had contracted such an animosity against the **Lord Digby**, and the **Master of the Rolls**, that he persuaded many officers of the army, especially of the horse, where he was most entirely obeyed, to join in a petition to the King, "that those
"two counsellors might be excluded, and be no more
"present in councils of war;" which they promised to do.

Waller remained still in **Worcestershire**; upon which it was again consulted, what the King was to do. Some proposed "the marching presently into the associated
"counties;" others, "to lose no time in endeavouring to
"join

“ join with Prince Rupert.” Wilmot, without ever communicating it with the King, positively advised, “ that they might presently march towards London, and, now both their generals and armies were far from them, make trial what the true affection of the city was; and that, when the army was marched as far as St. Albans, the King should send such a gracious message both to the Parliament and city, as was most like to prevail upon them;” and concluded, as if he knew “ that this way of proceeding would be very much approved of by the army.” This extravagant motion, with all the circumstances of it, troubled the King very much; yet he thought not fit absolutely to reject it, lest it might promote that petition, which he knew was framing among the officers; but wished them, “ that such a message should be prepared, and then that he would communicate both that, and what concerned his march towards London, to the Lords of the Council at Oxford; that in so weighty an affair he might receive their counsel.” To that purpose the Lord Digby, and the Master of the Rolls, were sent to Oxford; who, after two days, returned without any approbation of the march, or the message by the Lords. But all that intrigue fell of itself, upon the sure intelligence, “ that Waller had left Worcestershire, and marched, with what speed he could, to find his Majesty;” which gave new argument of debate.

When the King had so dexterously deceived and eluded him by his quick march to and from Worcester, Waller, who had not timely information of it, and less suspected it, thought it not to the purpose to tire his army with long marches in hope to overtake him; but first shewed it at the walls of Worcester, to terrify that city, which had contemned his power a year before,
when

when it was not so well able to resist it. But he quickly discerned he could do no good there : then he marched towards Gloucester, having sent to Colonel Maffey to send him some men out of Gloucester; which he, being a creature of Essex's, refused to do. Upon this denial, he marched into Warwickshire; and appointed his rendezvous in Keinton field, the place where the first battle was fought. There he received an addition of seven troops of horse, and about six hundred foot, from Warwick and from Coventry, with eleven pieces of ordnance. With this recruit he marched confidently towards the King; of which his Majesty being informed, that he might the sooner meet him, he marched with his army to Brackley, when Waller was near Banbury; and the armies coming shortly in view of each other, upon a fair sunshine in the afternoon, after a very wet morning, both endeavoured to possess a piece of ground they well knew to be of advantage; which being nearer to Waller, and the King passing his whole army through the town of Banbury, before he could come to it, Waller had first his men upon it in good order of battle, before the King could reach thither: so that the King lay that night in the field, half a mile east of Banbury, the river of Cherwell being between the two armies.

The fight at
Cropredy-
bridge.

The King resolved to make Waller draw off from that advantage ground, where he had stood two days; and, in order thereunto, marched away, as if he would enter farther into Northamptonshire: and he no sooner moved, but Waller likewise drew off from his ground, and coasted on the other side of the river, but at such a distance, that it was thought he had no mind to be engaged. The van of the King's army was led by the General, and Wilmot: in the body was the King and the Prince, and the rear consisted of one thousand commanded

manded foot, under Colonel Thelwell, with the Earl of Northampton's and the Earl of Cleveland's brigades of horse. And, that the enemy might not be able to take any advantage, a party of dragoons was sent to keep Cropredy-bridge, until the army was passed beyond it. The army marching in this order, intelligence was brought to the King, "that there was a body of three hundred horse within less than two miles of the van of the army, that marched to join with Waller; and that they might be easily cut off, if the army mended their pace." Whereupon, orders were sent to the foremost horse, "that they should move faster," the van and the middle having the same directions, without any notice given to the rear. Waller quickly discerned the great distance that was suddenly grown between the King's body and his rear, and presently advanced with fifteen hundred horse, one thousand foot, and eleven pieces of cannon, to Cropredy-bridge, which were quickly too strong for the dragoons that were left to keep it, and which made a very faint resistance: so that this party advanced above half a mile, pursuing their design of cutting off the King's rear, before they should be able to get up to the body of the army. To facilitate this execution, he had sent one thousand horse more, to pass over at a ford a mile below Cropredy-bridge, and to fall upon the rear of all. Timely notice being given of this to the Earl of Cleveland, who was in the van of that division, and "of the enemy's having passed at Cropredy," (which was confirmed by the running of the horse, and scattered foot), "and that there stood two bodies of horse without moving, and faced the army:" thereupon the Earl presently drew up his brigade to a rising ground that faced that pass, where he discerned a great body of the rebels' horse drawn up, and ready to have fallen upon his
his

his rear. It was no time to expect orders; but the Earl, led by his own great spirit, charged presently that body with great fury, which sustained it not with equal courage; losing a cornet, and many prisoners.

This alarm had quickly reached the King, who sent to the van to return, and himself drew up those about him, to a little hill beyond the bridge; where he saw the enemy preparing for a second charge upon the Earl of Cleveland. The King commanded the Lord Bernard Stuart, a valiant young gentleman, who commanded his own guards, "to make haste to the assistance of the rear; and, in his way, to charge those two bodies of horse which faced his Majesty." He, with above a hundred of gallant and stout gentlemen, returned instantly over the bridge, and made haste towards those two bodies of horse; who, seeing their fellows routed by the Earl of Cleveland, were then advancing to charge him in the flank, as he was following the execution. But the presence of this troop made them change their mind; and, after a very little stay, accompany their fellows in their flight; which very much facilitated the defeat that quickly ensued.

The Earl of Cleveland, after his short encounter, made a stand under a great ash, (where the King had but half an hour before stayed and dined), not understanding what the enemy could mean by advancing so fast, and then flying so soon; when he perceived a body of their horse of sixteen cornets, and as many colours of foot, placed within the hedges, and all within musquet-shot of him, and advancing upon him; which he likewise did upon them with notable vigour; and having stood their musquet and carabine shot, he charged them so furiously, being resolutely seconded by all the officers of his brigade, that he routed both horse and foot, and chased them
with

with good execution beyond their cannon : all which, being eleven pieces, were taken ; with two barricadoes of wood, which were drawn upon wheels, and in each seven small bras and leather guns, charged with case-shot ; most of their cannoneers were killed, and the General of their ordnance taken prisoner. This man, one Weemes, a Scotchman, had been as much obliged by the King, as a man of his condition could be, and in a manner very unpopular : for he was made Master Gunner of England, with a pension of three hundred pounds *per annum* for his life, (which was looked upon as some disrespect to the English nation), and having never done the King the least service, he took the first opportunity to disserve him ; and having been engaged against him, from the beginning of the rebellion, he was now preferred by them, for his eminent disloyalty, to be General of the ordnance in the army of Sir William Waller ; who was very much advised by him in all matters of importance. Besides Weemes, there was taken prisoner Baker, Lieutenant Colonel to Sir William Waller's own regiment, and five or six lieutenant colonels and captains, of as good names as were amongst them ; with many lieutenants, ensigns, and cornets, quartermasters ; and above one hundred common soldiers ; many more being slain in the charge. The Earl pursued them as far as the bridge ; over which he forced them to retire, in spite of their dragoons, which were placed there to make good their retreat : all which fled with them, or before. And so the Earl, having cleared that side of the river, and not knowing how far he was from the army, retired, as he had good reason to do ; having lost, in this notable action, two colonels, Sir William Boteler, and Sir William Clarke, both gentlemen of Kent, of fair fortunes, who had raised and armed their regiments at their own charge,

who were both killed dead upon the place, with one captain more of another regiment, and not above fourteen common soldiers.

At the same time, the Earl of Northampton discovered that party of the enemy's horse, which had found a passage over the river a mile below, to follow him in the rear; and presently faced about with those regiments of his brigade. Upon which, without enduring the charge, the whole body betook themselves to flight, and got over the pass they had so newly been acquainted with, with little loss, because they prevented the danger; though many of them, when they were got over, continued their flight so far, as if they were still pursued, that they never returned again to their army. The Lord Bernard, with the King's troop, seeing there was no enemy left on that side, drew up in a large field opposite to the bridge; where he stood, whilst the cannon, on the other side, played upon him, until his Majesty and the rest of the army passed by them, and drew into a body upon the fields near Wilscot. Waller instantly quitted Cropredy, and drew up his whole army upon the high grounds, which are between Cropredy and Hanwell, opposite to the King's quarters about a mile; the river of Cherwell, and some low grounds, being between both armies; which had a full view of each other.

It was now about three of the clock in the afternoon, the weather very fair, and very warm, (it being the 29th day of June), and the King's army being now together, his Majesty resolved to prosecute his good fortune, and to go to the enemy, since they would not come to him: and, to that purpose, sent two good parties, to make way for him to pass both at Cropredy-bridge, and the other pass a mile below; over which the enemy had so newly passed: both which places were strongly guarded by them.

them. To Cropredy they sent such strong bodies of foot, to relieve each other as they should be pressed, that those sent by the King thither could make no impression upon them; but were repulsed, till the night came, and severed them; all parties being tired with the duty of the day. But they who were sent to the other pass, a mile below, after a short resistance, gained it, and a mill adjoining; where after they had killed some, they took the rest prisoners; and from thence, did not only defend themselves that and the next day, but did the enemy much hurt; expecting still that their fellows should master the other pass, that so they might advance together.

Here the King was prevailed with to make trial of another expedient. Some men, from the conference they had with the prisoners, others from other intelligence, made no doubt, but that if a message were now sent of grace and pardon to all the officers and soldiers of that army, they would forthwith lay down their arms: and it was very notorious, that multitudes ran every day from thence. How this message should be sent, so that it might be effectually delivered, was the only question that remained: and it was agreed, "that Sir Edward Walker" (who was both Garter King at Arms, and Secretary to the council of war) "should be sent to publish that his Majesty's grace." But he wisely desired, "that a trumpet might be first sent for a pass;" the barbarity of that people being notorious, that they regarded not the laws of arms, or of nations. Whereupon a trumpet was sent to Sir William Waller, to desire "a safe conduct for a gentleman, who should deliver a gracious message from his Majesty." After two hours consideration, he returned answer, "that he had no power to receive any message of grace or favour from his
 3 c 2 " Majesty,

“ Majesty, without the consent of the two Houses of Parliament at Westminster, to whom his Majesty, if he pleased, might make his addresses.” And as soon as the trumpet was gone, as an evidence of his resolution, he caused above twenty shot of his greatest cannon to be made at the King’s army, and as near the place as they could, where his Majesty used to be.

When both armies had stood upon the same ground, and in the same posture, for the space of two days, they both drew off to a greater distance from each other; and, from that time, never saw each other. It then quickly appeared, by Waller’s still keeping more aloof from the King, and his marching up and down from Buckingham, sometimes towards Northampton, and sometimes towards Warwick, that he was without other design, than of recruiting his army; and that the defeat of that day at Cropredy was much greater, than it then appeared to be; and that it even broke the heart of his army. And it is very probable, that if the King, after he had rested and refreshed his men three or four days, which was very necessary, in regard they were exceedingly tired with continual duty, besides that the provisions would not hold longer in the same quarters, had followed Waller, when it was evident he would not follow the King, he might have destroyed that army without fighting: for it appeared afterwards, without its being pursued, that within fourteen days after that action at Cropredy, Waller’s army, that before consisted of eight thousand, was so much wasted, that there remained not with him half that number.

But the truth is, from the time that the King discovered that mutinous spirit in the officers, governed by Wilmot, at Buckingham, he was unsatisfied with the temper of his own army, and did not desire a thorough engagement,

gement, till he had a little time to reform some, whom he resolved never more heartily to trust; and to undeceive others, who, he knew, were misled without any malice, or evil intention. But when he now found himself so much at liberty from two great armies, which had so straitly encompassed him, within little more than a month; and that he had, upon the matter, defeated one of them, and reduced it to a state, in which it could, for the present, do him little harm; his heart was at no ease, with apprehension of the terrible fright the Queen would be in, (who was newly delivered of a daughter, that was afterwards married to the Duke of Orleans), when she saw the Earl of Essex before the walls of Exeter, and should be at the same time informed, that Waller was with another army in pursuit of himself. His Majesty resolved therefore, with all possible expedition, to follow the Earl of Essex, in hopes that he should be able to fight a battle with him, before Waller should be in a condition to follow him: and his own strength would be much improved, by a conjunction with Prince Maurice; who, though he retired before Essex, would be well able, by the north of Devonshire, to meet the King, when he should know that he marched that way.

His Majesty had no sooner taken this resolution, than he gave notice of it to the Lords of the Council at Oxford; and sent an express into the West, to inform the Queen of it; who, by the way, carried orders to the Lord Hopton, "to draw what men he could out of Monmouthshire, and South Wales, into Bristol; that himself might meet his Majesty with as many as he could possibly draw out of that garrison." So, without any delay, the whole army, with what expedition was possible, marched towards the West over the Cotswold to Cirencester; and so to Bath; where he arrived on the 15th

day of July, and staid there one whole day, to refresh his army ; which stood enough in need of it.

The King had scarce marched two days westward, when he was surpris'd with ill news from the North ; for, after he had, by an express from Oxford, received intelligence, " that Prince Rupert had not only relieved " York, but totally defeated the Scots, with many particulars to confirm it," (all which was so much believed there, that they had made public fires of joy for the victory), he now received quite contrary information, and was too surely convinced, that his whole army was defeated. It was very true, that, after many great and noble actions performed by Prince Rupert in the relief of Latham, and the reduction of Bolton, and all other places in that large county, (Manchester only excepted), in which the rebels lost very many, much blood having been shed in taking places by assault, which were too obstinately defended ; the Prince had marched out of Lancashire with so good reputation, and had given his orders so effectually to Goring, who lay in Lincolnshire with that body of horse that belonged to the Marquis of Newcastle's army, that they happily joined him ; and marched together towards York, with such expedition, that the enemy was so surpris'd, that they found it necessary to raise the siege in confusion enough ; and leaving one whole side of the town free, drew to the other side, in great disorder and consternation ; there being irreconcilable differences, and jealousies, between the officers, and, indeed, between the nations: the English resolving to join no more with the Scots, and they, on the other side, as weary of their company and discipline ; so that the Prince had done his work ; and if he had fate still, the enemy's great army would have mouldered to nothing, and been expos'd to any advantage his Highness would take of them.

But

But the dismal fate of the kingdom would not permit so much sobriety of counsel: one side of the town was no sooner free, by which there was an entire communication with those in the town, and all provision brought in abundantly out of the country, but the Prince, without consulting with the Marquis of Newcastle, or any of the officers within the town, sent for all the soldiers to draw out, and put the whole army in battalia, on that side where the enemy was drawn up; who had no other hope to preserve them but a present battle, to prevent the reproaches and mutinies which distracted them. And though that party of the King's horse which charged the Scots, so totally routed and defeated their whole army, that they fled all ways for many miles together, and were knocked on the head, and taken prisoners by the country, and Lesly their General fled ten miles, and was taken prisoner by a constable, (from whence the news of the victory was speedily brought to Newark, and thence sent by an express to Oxford; and so received and spread as aforesaid), yet the English horse, commanded by Fairfax and Cromwell, charged so well, and in such excellent order, being no sooner broken than they rallied again, and charged as briskly, that, though both Fairfax and Cromwell were hurt, and both above the shoulders, and many good officers killed, they prevailed over that body of horse which opposed them, and totally routed and beat them off the field; and almost the whole body of the Marquis of Newcastle's foot were cut off.

The Marquis himself, and his brave brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, (who was a man of the noblest and largest mind, though the least and most inconvenient body that lived), charged in the head of a troop of gentlemen, who came out of the town with him, with as much gallantry and courage as men could do. But

An account
of the battle
of Marston-
moor.

it was so late in the evening before the battle begun, that the night quickly fell upon them; and the Generals returned into the town, not enough knowing their own loss, and performed very few compliments to each other. They who most exactly describe that unfortunate battle, and more unfortunate abandoning that whole country, (when there might have been means found to have drawn a good army together), by Prince Rupert's hasty departure with all his troops, and the Marquis of Newcastle's as hasty departure to the sea-side, and taking ship, and transporting himself out of the kingdom, and all the ill consequences thereupon, give so ill an account of any conduct, or discretion, in the managery of that affair, that, as I can take no pleasure in writing of it, so posterity would receive little pleasure, or benefit, in the most particular relation of it.

This may be said of it, that the like was never done, or heard, or read of before; that two great Generals, whereof one had still a good army left, his horse, by their not having performed their duty, remaining upon the matter entire, and much the greater part of his foot having retired into the town, the great execution having fallen upon the northern foot; and the other, having the absolute commission over the northern counties, and very many considerable places in them still remaining under his obedience, should both agree in nothing else, but in leaving that good city, and the whole country, as a prey to the enemy; who had not yet the courage to believe that they had the victory; the Scots having been so totally routed, (as hath been said before), their General made prisoner by a constable, and detained in custody, till most part of the next day was passed; and most of the officers, and army, having marched, or run above ten miles northward, before they had news that they

they might securely return : and though the horse under Fairfax and Cromwell had won the day, yet they were both much wounded, and many others of the best officers killed, or so maimed that they could not, in any short time, have done more hurt : so that if there had been any agreement to have concealed their loss, which might have been done to a good degree, (for the enemy was not possessed of the field, but was drawn off at a distance, not knowing what the horse, which had done so little, might do the next day), there might probably many advantages have appeared, which were not at the instant in view ; however, they might both have done that as securely afterwards, as they did then unseasonably.

But neither of them were friends to such deliberation ; but, as soon as they were refreshed with a little sleep, they both sent a messenger to each other, almost at the same time ; the one, " that he was resolved, that " morning, to march away with his horse, and as many " foot as he had left ;" and the other, " that he would, " in that instant, repair to the sea-side, and transport " himself beyond the seas ;" both which they immediately performed ; the Marquis making haste to Scarborough, there embarked in a poor vessel, and arrived at Ham-
burgh : the Prince, with his army, begun his march the same morning towards Chester. And so York was left to the discretion of Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor thereof, to do with it as he thought fit ; being in a condition only to deliver it up with more decency, not to defend it against an enemy that would require it.

Whereas, if Prince Rupert had stayed with the army he marched away with, at any reasonable distance, it would have been long before the jealousies and breaches, which were between the English and Scotch armies, would have been enough composed to have agreed upon the
renewing

York delivered to the Parliament forces.

renewing the siege; such great quantities of provision being already brought into the town: and the Scots talked of nothing but returning into their own country, where the Marquis of Mountrose had kindled already a fire, which the Parliament of Edinburgh could not quench. But the certain intelligence, “that the Prince “ was marched away without thought of returning, and “ that the Marquis had embarked himself,” reconciled them so far, (and nothing else could), that, after two days, they returned to the posts they had before had in the siege; and so straitened the town, that the Governor, when he had no hope of relief, within a fortnight was compelled to deliver it up, upon as good articles for the town, and the gentry that were in it, and for himself, and the few soldiers he had left, as he could propose: and so he marched with all his troops to Carlisle; which he afterwards defended with very remarkable circumstances of courage, industry, and patience.

The times afterwards grew so bad, and the King’s affairs succeeded so ill, that there was no opportunity to call either of those two great persons to account for what they had done, or what they had left undone. Nor did either of them ever think fit to make any particular relation of the grounds of their proceeding, or the causes of their misadventures, by way of excuse to the King, or for their own vindication. Prince Rupert, only to his friends, and after the murder of the King, produced a letter in the King’s own hand, which he received when he was upon his march from Lancashire towards York; in which his Majesty said, “that his affairs were in so very “ ill a state, that it would not be enough, though his “ Highness raised the siege from York, if he had not “ likewise beaten the Scotch army;” which he understood “to amount to no less than a peremptory order to “ fight,

“ fight, upon what disadvantage soever :” and added, “ that the disadvantage was so great, the enemy being “ so much superior in number, it was no wonder he lost “ the day.” But as the King’s letter would not bear that sense, so the greatest cause of the misfortune was the precipitate entering upon the battle, as soon as the enemy drew off; and without consulting at all with the Marquis of Newcastle, and his officers; who must needs know more of the enemy, and consequently how they were best to be dealt with, than his Highness could do. For he saw not the Marquis, till, upon his summons, he came into the field, in the head of a troop of gentlemen, as a private captain, when the battle was ranged; and which, after a very short salutation, immediately begun; those of the Marquis’s army, who came out of the town, being placed upon the ground left by the Prince, and assigned to them; which much indisposed both officers and soldiers to the work in hand, and towards those with whom they were to join in it.

Then it was too late in the day to begin the fight, if all the other ill circumstances had been away; for it was past three in the afternoon: whereas, if it had been deferred till next morning, in which time a full consultation might have been had, and the officers and soldiers grown a little acquainted with each other, better success might have been reasonably expected; nor would the confusion and consternation the other armies were then in, which was the only excuse for the present engagement, have been the less; but, on the contrary, very much improved by the delay; for the bitterness and animosity between the chief commanders was such, that a great part of the army was marched six miles, when it appeared, by the Prince’s manner of drawing his army together to that ground, that his resolution was to fight; the speedy intelligence

telligence whereof prevailed, and nothing else could, with those who were gone so far, to return; and with the rest, to unite and concur in an action, that, in human reason, could only preserve them; and if that opportunity had not then been so unhappily offered, it was generally believed that the Scots would, the next morning, have continued their march northward; and the Earl of Manchester would have been necessitated to have made his retreat, as well as he could, into his associated counties; and it would have been in the Prince's power to have chosen which of them he would have destroyed.

But then of all the rest, his going away the next morning with all his troops, in that manner, was most unexcusable; because most prejudicial, and most ruinous to the King's affairs in those parts. Nor did those troops ever after bring any considerable advantage to the King's service, but mouldered away by degrees, and the officers, whereof many were gentlemen of quality and great merit, were killed upon beating up of quarters, and little actions not worth their presence. The truth is, the Prince had some secret intimation of the Marquis's purpose of immediately leaving the town, and embarking himself for the parts beyond the seas, before the Marquis himself sent him word of it; upon which, in great passion and rage, he sent him notice of his resolution presently to be gone, that he who had the command of all those parts, and thereby an obligation not to desert his charge, might be without any imagination that the Prince would take such a distracted government upon him, and leave him any excuse for his departure: and if in this joint distemper, with which they were both transported, any persons of discretion and honour had interposed, they might, in all probability, have prevailed with both, for a good understanding between them, or
at

at least for the suspension of their present resolutions, and considering what might best be done. But they both resolved so soon, and so soon executed what they resolved, that very few had the least suspicion of their intentions, till they were both out of distance to have their conversion attempted.

All that can be said for the Marquis is, that he was so utterly tired with a condition and employment so contrary to his humour, nature, and education, that he did not at all consider the means, or the way, that would let him out of it, and free him for ever from having more to do with it. And it was a greater wonder, that he sustained the vexation and fatigue of it so long, than that he broke from it with so little circumspection. He was a very fine gentleman, active, and full of courage, and most accomplished in those qualities of horsemanship, dancing, and fencing, which accompany a good breeding; in which his delight was. Besides that he was amorous in poetry and music, to which he indulged the greatest part of his time; and nothing could have tempted him out of those paths of pleasure, which he enjoyed in a full and ample fortune, but honour and ambition to serve the King when he saw him in distress, and abandoned by most of those who were in the highest degree obliged to him, and by him. He loved monarchy, as it was the foundation and support of his own greatness; and the church, as it was well constituted for the splendour and security of the crown; and religion, as it cherished and maintained that order and obedience that was necessary to both; without any other passion for the particular opinions which were grown up in it, and distinguished it into parties, than as he detested whatsoever was like to disturb the public peace.

He had a particular reverence for the person of the
King,

King, and the more extraordinary devotion for that of the Prince, as he had had the honour to be trusted with his education as his governor; for which office, as he excelled in some, so he wanted other qualifications. Though he had retired from his great trust, and from the Court, to decline the insupportable envy which the powerful faction had contracted against him, yet the King was no sooner necessitated to possess himself of some place of strength, and to raise some force for his defence, but the Earl of Newcastle (he was made Marquis afterwards) obeyed his first call; and, with great expedition and dexterity, seized upon that town; when till then there was not one port town in England that avowed their obedience to the King: and he then presently raised such regiments of horse and foot, as were necessary for the present state of affairs; all which was done purely by his own interest, and the concurrence of his numerous allies in those northern parts; who with all alacrity obeyed his commands, without any charge to the King; which he was not able to supply.

And after the battle of Edgehill, when the rebels grew so strong in Yorkshire, by the influence their garrison of Hull had upon both the East and West Riding there, that it behoved the King presently to make a General, who might unite all those northern counties in his service, he could not choose any man so fit for it, as the Earl of Newcastle, who was not only possessed of a present force, and of that important town, but had a greater reputation and interest in Yorkshire itself, than, at that present, any other man had: the Earl of Cumberland being at that time, though of entire affection to the King, much decayed in the vigour of his body and his mind, and unfit for that activity which the season required. And it cannot be denied, that the Earl of Newcastle,

Castle, by his quick march with his troops, as soon as he had received his commission to be General, and in the depth of winter, redeemed, or rescued the city of York from the rebels, when they looked upon it as their own, and had it even within their grasp: and as soon as he was master of it, he raised men apace, and drew an army together, with which he fought many battles, in which he had always (this last only excepted) success and victory.

He liked the pomp and absolute authority of a General well, and preserved the dignity of it to the full; and for the discharge of the outward state, and circumstances of it, in acts of courtesy, affability, bounty, and generosity, he abounded; which, in the infancy of a war, became him, and made him, for some time, very acceptable to men of all conditions. But the substantial part, and fatigue of a General, he did not in any degree understand, (being utterly unacquainted with war), nor could submit to; but referred all matters of that nature to the discretion of his Lieutenant General King; who, no doubt, was an officer of great experience and ability, yet, being a Scotchman, was in that conjuncture upon more disadvantage than he would have been, if the General himself had been more intent upon his command. In all actions of the field he was still present, and never absent in any battle; in all which he gave instances of an invincible courage and fearlessness in danger; in which the exposing himself notoriously did sometimes change the fortune of the day, when his troops begun to give ground. Such articles of action were no sooner over, than he retired to his delightful company, music, or his softer pleasures, to all which he was so indulgent, and to his ease, that he would not be interrupted upon what occasion soever; insomuch as he sometimes denied admission

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sion to the chiefest officers of the army, even to Generall King himself, for two days together; from whence many inconveniences fell out.

From the beginning, he was without any reverence or regard for the Privy Council, with few of whom he had any acquaintance; but was of the other soldiers' mind, that all the business ought to be done by councils of war, and was always angry when there were any overtures of a treaty; and therefore, especially after the Queen had landed in Yorkshire, and stayed so long there, he considered any orders he received from Oxford, though from the King himself, more negligently than he ought to have done; and when he thought himself sure of Hull, and was sure that he should be then master entirely of all the North, he had no mind to march nearer the King, (as he had then orders to march into the associated counties, when, upon the taking of Bristol, his Majesty had a purpose to have marched towards London on the other side), out of apprehension that he should be eclipsed by the Court, and his authority overshadowed by the superiority of Prince Rupert; from whom he desired to be at distance: yet when he found himself in distress, and necessitated to draw his army within the walls of York, and saw no way to be relieved but by Prince Rupert, who had then done great feats of arms in the relief of Newark, and afterwards in his expedition into Lancashire, where he was at that time, he writ to the King to Oxford, either upon the knowledge that the absoluteness and illimitedness of his commission was generally much spoken of, or out of the conscience of some discourse of his own to that purpose; which might have been reported; "that he hoped his Majesty did believe, " that he would never make the least scruple to obey the " grandchild of King James:" and assuredly, if the Prince had

had cultivated the good inclinations the Marquis had towards him, with any civil and gracious condescensions, he would have found him full of duty and regard to his service and interest.

But the strange manner of the Prince's coming, and undeliberated throwing himself, and all the King's hopes, into that sudden and unnecessary engagement, by which all the force the Marquis had raised, and with so many difficulties preserved, was in a moment cast away and destroyed, so transported him with passion and despair, that he could not compose himself to think of beginning the work again, and involving himself in the same undelightful condition of life, from which he might now be free. He hoped his past meritorious actions might outweigh his present abandoning the thought of future action; and so, without farther consideration, as hath been said, he transported himself out of the kingdom, and took with him General King; upon whom they, who were content to spare the Marquis, poured out all the reproaches of "infidelity, treason, and conjunction with his country-men;" which, without doubt, was the effect of the universal discontent, and the miserable condition to which the people of those northern parts were on the sudden reduced, without the least foundation, or ground for any such reproach: and as he had, throughout the whole course of his life, been generally reputed a man of honour, and had exercised the highest commands under the King of Sweden with extraordinary ability and success, so he had been prosecuted by some of his countrymen with the highest malice, from his very coming into the King's service; and the same malice pursued him after he had left the kingdom, even to his death.

The loss of England came so soon to be lamented,
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that the loss of York, or the too soon deserting the northern parts, were comparatively no more spoken of; and the constant and noble behaviour of the Marquis in the change of his fortune, and his cheerful submission to all the straits, necessities, and discomforts, which are inseparable from banishment, without the least application to the usurpers, who were possessed of his whole estate, and upon which they committed all imaginable and irreparable waste, in destroying all his woods of very great value, and who were still equally abhorred and despised by him; with his readiness and alacrity again to have embarked himself in the King's quarrel, upon the first reasonable occasion, so perfectly reconciled all good men to him, that they rather observed what he had done and suffered for the King and for his country, without farther enquiring what he had omitted to do, or been overseen in doing.

This fatal blow, which so much changed the King's condition, that till then was very hopeful, made not such an impression upon his Majesty, but that it made him pursue his former resolution, to follow the Earl of Essex, with the more impatience; having now in truth nothing else to do. But being informed that the Earl had not made any long marches, and that the Queen, upon the first news of the Earl's drawing near, though she had been little more than a fortnight delivered, had left Exeter, and was removed into Cornwall, from whence, in a short time, she embarked for France, (the Prince of Orange having sent some Dutch ships of war to attend her commands in the harbour of Falmouth; and from thence her Majesty transported herself), his Majesty marched more slowly, that he might increase his army from Bristol, and other places; making no doubt, but that

The Queen
retires into
France.

that he should engage the army of the Earl of Essex, who was already near Exeter, before he should be able to return to London.

The Earl of Essex's good fortune now begun to decline : he had not proceeded with his accustomed wariness and skill, but run into labyrinths, from whence he could not disentangle himself. When he had marched to the length of Exeter, which he had some thought of besieging, without any imagination that he could find an enemy to contend with him, having left the King in so ill a condition, and Sir William Waller with so good an army waiting upon him, he had the news of the "disappointment Sir William Waller had received ; and " that the King was come with his whole army into the " West in pursuit of him, without being followed by " Waller, or any troops to disquiet or retard his " march ;" which exceedingly surprised him, and made him suspect that the Parliament itself had betrayed him, and conspired his ruin.

The jealousies were now indeed grown very great between them ; the Parliament looking upon his march into the West, and leaving Waller, to whom they intended the other province, to follow the King, but as a declaration that he would no more fight against the person of the King ; and the Earl, on the other side, had well observed the difference betwixt the care and affection the Parliament expressed for and towards his army, and the other under the command of the Earl of Manchester ; which they set so great a price upon, that he thought they would not so much care what became of his. Otherwise, it could not be possible, that, upon so little a brush as Waller had sustained, he could not be able to follow and disturb the King, in a country so inclosed, as he must pass through. In this unexpected

strait, upon the first reception of the news, he resolved to return back, and meet and fight with the King, either before he entered Devonshire, or else in Somersetshire; in either of which places he could not be straitened in room, or provisions, or be compelled to fight in a place disadvantageous, or when he had no mind to it; and if he had pursued this resolution, he had done prudently. But the Lord Roberts, who was a General officer in his army, of an insociable nature, and impetuous disposition, full of contradiction in his temper, and of parts so much superior to any in the company, that he could too well maintain and justify all those contradictions, positively opposed the return of the army; but pressed, with his confidence, "that the army should continue its march to
 " Cornwall;" where he undertook to have so great interest, that he made no question, "but the presence of
 " the Earl of Essex, with his army, would so unite that
 " county to the Parliament's service, that it would be
 " easy to defend the passes into the whole county (which
 " are not many) in such a manner, that the King's army
 " should never be able to enter into Cornwall, nor to re-
 " tire out of Devonshire without great loss, nor before
 " the Parliament would send more forces upon their
 " backs."

The Lord Roberts, though inferior in the army, had much greater credit in the Parliament than the Earl of Essex; and the Earl did not think him very kind to him, he being then in great conjunction with Sir Harry Vane, whom of all men the Earl hated, and looked upon as an enemy. He had never been in Cornwall; so he knew not the situation of the country: some of the officers, and some others of that country, (as there were with him four or five gentlemen of that country of interest), concurred fully with the Lord Roberts, and promised great
 matters,

matters, if the army marched thither: whereupon the Earl departed from his own understanding, and complied with their advice; and so marched the direct way with all his army, horse, foot, and cannon, into that narrow county; and pursued Prince Maurice and those forces, which easily retired, westward; until he found himself in straits; where we shall leave him for the present.

The Earl of Essex marches into Cornwall.

After the King had made a small stay at Exeter, where he found his young daughter, of whom the Queen had been so lately delivered, under the care and government of the Lady Dalkeith, (shortly after Countess of Morton by the death of her husband's father), who had been long before designed by both their Majesties to that charge; and having a little refreshed and accommodated his troops, he marched directly to Cornwall; where he found the Earl of Essex in such a part of the country on the sea-side, that he quickly, by the general conflux and concourse of the whole people, upon which the Earl had been persuaded so much to depend, found means, with very little fighting, so to straiten his quarters, that there seemed little appearance that he could possibly march away with his army, or compel the King to fight. He was, upon the matter, inclosed in and about Foy; whilst the King lay encamped about Liskard; and no day passed without some skirmishes; in which the Earl was more distressed, and many of his principal officers taken prisoners. Here there happened an accident, that might very well have turned the King's fortune, and deprived him of all the advantages which were then in view. The King being always in the army himself, all matters were still debated before him, in the presence of those counsellors who were about him; who, being men of better understandings and better expressions than the officers, commonly disposed his Majesty to their

The King follows him thither.

opinions, at least kept him from concurring in every thing which was proposed by the officers. The counsellors, as hath been said before, were the Lord Digby, Secretary of State, and Sir John Colepepper, Master of the Rolls, of whose judgment the King had more esteem, even with reference to the war, than of most of the officers of the army; which raised an implacable animosity in the whole army against them.

General Ruthen, who by this time was created Earl of Brentford, was General of the army; but, as hath been said, both by reason of his age, and his extreme deafness, was not a man of counsel or words; hardly conceived what was proposed, and as confusedly and obscurely delivered his opinion; and could indeed better judge by his eye than his ear; and in the field well knew what was to be done. Wilmot was Lieutenant General of the horse, and at this time the second officer of the army, and had much more credit and authority in it, than any man; which he had not employed to the King's advantage, as his Majesty believed. He was a man proud and ambitious, and incapable of being contented; an ordinary officer in marches, and governing his troops. He drank hard, and had a great power over all who did so, which was a great people. He had a more companionable wit even than his rival Goring, and swayed more among the good fellows, and could by no means endure that the Lord Digby and Sir John Colepepper should have so much credit with the King in councils of war.

The King had no kindness for him upon an old account, as remembering the part he had acted against the Earl of Strafford: however, he had been induced, upon the accidents which happened afterwards, to repose trust in him. This Wilmot knew well enough; and foresaw,

saw, that he should be quickly overshadowed in the war; and therefore desired to get out of it, by a seasonable peace; and so, in all his discourses, urged the necessity of it, as he had begun in Buckinghamshire; and, “that the King ought to send propositions to the Parliament, in order to obtaining it;” and in this march had prosecuted his former design by several cabals among the officers; and disposed them to petition the King, “to send to the Parliament again an offer of peace; and “that the Lord Digby and Sir John Colepepper might “not be permitted to be present in councils of war;” implying, “that if this might not be granted, they “would think of some other way.” Which petition, though, by the wisdom of some officers, it was kept from being delivered, yet so provoked the King, that he resolved to take the first opportunity to free himself from his impetuous humour; in which good disposition the Lord Digby ceased not to confirm his Majesty; and as soon as the news came of the northern defeat, and that the Marquis of Newcastle had left the kingdom, he prevailed that Goring might be sent for to attend his Majesty; who then proposed to himself to make his nephew Prince Rupert General of the army, and Goring General of the horse; which Wilmot could not avowedly have excepted against, the other having been always superior to him in command; and yet would be such a mortification to him, as he would never have been able to digest.

Whether his apprehensions of this, as his jealous nature had much of sagacity in it, or his restless and mutinous humour, transported him, but he gave not the King time to prosecute that gracious method; but even forced him to a quicker and a rougher remedy: for during the whole march, he discoursed in all places, “that the

“ King must send to the Earl of Essex to invite him to
“ a conjunction with him, that so the Parliament might
“ be obliged to consent to a peace ; and pretended, that
“ he had so good intelligence in that army, as to know
“ that such an invitation would prove effectual, and be
“ acceptable to the Earl ; who, he knew, was unsatisfied
“ with the Parliament’s behaviour towards him :” and
he was so indiscreet, as to desire a gentleman, with whom
he had no intimacy, and who had a pass to go beyond
the seas, and must go through the Earl’s quarters, “ that
“ he would remember his service to the Earl of Essex ;
“ and assure him, that the army so much desired peace,
“ that it should not be in the power of any of those per-
“ sons about the King to hinder it, if his lordship would
“ treat upon any reasonable propositions.” All which
kind of carriage and discourses were quickly represented,
in their full magnitude, to the King, by the Lord
Digby ; and his Majesty’s own aversion kindled any
spark into a formed distrust. So that after the King
came into Cornwall, and had his whole army drawn up
on the top of the hill, in view of the Earl of Essex, who
was in the bottom, and a battle expected every day,
upon some new discourse Wilmot made out of pride
and vanity, (for there was not, in all the former, the least
formed act of sedition in his heart), the Knight Marshal,
with the assistance of Tom Elliot, arrested him in the
King’s name of high treason ; and dismounted him
from his horse in the head of all the troops ; putting a
guard upon him. He was presently sent prisoner to
Exeter, without any other ill effect, which might very
reasonably have been apprehended in such a conjunc-
ture, when he was indeed generally well beloved, and
none of them for whose sakes he was thought to be sa-
crificed,

crificed, were at all esteemed: yet, I say, there were no other ill effects of it than a little murmur, which vanished away.

The same day that Wilmot was arrested, the King removed another General officer of his army, the Lord Percy; who had been made General of the ordnance upon very partial, and not enough deliberated considerations; and put into that office the Lord Hopton; whose promotion was universally approved; the one having no friend, and the other being universally beloved. Besides, the Lord Percy (who was the first that had been created a Baron at Oxford upon the Queen's intercession; which obliged the King to bestow the same honour on more men) had been as much inclined to mutiny as the Lord Wilmot; and was much a bolder speaker, and had none of those faculties, which the other had, of reconciling men to him. Yet even his removal added to the ill humour of the army, too much disposed to discontent, and censuring all that was done: for though he was generally unloved, as a proud and supercilious person, yet he had always three or four persons of good credit and reputation, who were esteemed by him, with whom he lived very well; and though he did not draw the good fellows to him by drinking, yet he eat well; which, in the general scarcity of that time, drew many votaries to him; who bore very ill the want of his table, and so were not without some inclination to murmur even on his behalf.

The very next day after these removals, Colonel Goring appeared; who had waited upon the King the night before at his quarters, with letters from Prince Rupert: and then the army being drawn up, his Majesty, attended by the principal officers of the army, rode to every division of the horse, and there declared, "that, at the request

“quest of his nephew Prince Rupert, and upon his resignation, he made Mr. Goring General of the horse: and commanded them all to obey him; and for the Lord Wilmot, although he had, for very good reasons, justly restrained him for the present, yet he had not taken away from him his command in the army;” which declaration visibly raised the countenance of the body of horse, more than the King was pleased with observing: and the very next day the greatest part of the officers delivered a petition, “that his Majesty would give them so much light of the Lord Wilmot’s crimes, that they might see that themselves were not suspected, who had so long obeyed and executed his orders;” which is manifestation enough of the ill disposition the army was in, when they were even in view of the enemy, and of which the King had so much apprehension, in respect of the present posture he was in, that he was too easily persuaded to give them a draught of the articles, by which he was charged: which though they contained so many indiscretions, vanities, and insolencies, that wise and dispassionate men thought he had been proceeded with very justly, yet generally they seemed not to make him so very black, as he had been represented to be; and when the articles were sent to him, he returned so specious an answer to them, that made many men think he had been prosecuted with severity enough. Yet Wilmot himself, when he saw his old mortal enemy Goring put in the command over him, thought himself incapable of reparation, or a full vindication; and therefore desired leave to retire into France; and had presently a pass sent him to that purpose; of which he made use as soon as he received it; and so transported himself out of the kingdom; which opened the mouths of many, and made it believed, that he had been

been sacrificed to some faction and intrigue of the Court, without any such misdemeanour as deserved it.

The King had, some days before this, found an opportunity to make a trial whether the Earl of Essex, from the notorious indignities which he received from the Parliament, and which were visible to all the world, or from the present ill condition which he and his army were reduced to, might be induced to make a conjunction with his Majesty. The Lord Beauchamp, eldest son to the Marquis of Hertford, desired, for the recovery of his health, not then good, to transport himself into France; and to that purpose had a pass from his uncle, the Earl of Essex, for himself; Monsieur Richaute a Frenchman, who had been his governor; and two servants, to embark at Plymouth; and being now with the King, it was necessary to pass through the Earl's quarters. By him the King vouchsafed to write a letter with his own hand to the Earl, in which he told him,

“How much it was in his power to restore that
“peace to the kingdom, which he had professed always
“to desire; and upon such conditions, as did fully comply with all those ends for which the Parliament had
“first taken up arms: for his Majesty was still ready to
“satisfy all those ends: but that since the invasion of
“the kingdom by the Scots, all his overtures of peace
“had been rejected; which must prove the destruction
“of the kingdom, if he did not, with his authority and
“power, dispose those at Westminster to accept of a
“peace that might preserve it;” with all those arguments, that might most reasonably persuade to a conjunction with his Majesty, and such gracious expressions of the sense he would always retain of the service and merit, as were most likely to invite him to it. The King desired, that a pass might be procured for Mr.
Harding,

Harding, one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber to the Prince, a gentleman who had been before of much conversation with the Earl, and much loved by him ; and the procuring this pass was recommended to Monsieur Richaute.

The Earl received his nephew very kindly ; who delivered the King's letter to him, which he received and read ; and being then told by the Lord Beauchamp, that Monsieur Richaute, who was very well known to him, had somewhat to say to him from the King ; the Earl called him into his chamber, in the presence only of the Lord Beauchamp, and asked him, " if he had any thing to say to him ? " Richaute told him, " that his principal business was to desire his permission and pass, that Mr. Harding might come to him, who had many things to offer, which, he presumed, would not be unacceptable to him." The Earl answered in short, " that he would not permit Mr. Harding to come to him, nor would he have any treaty with the King, having received no warrant for it from the Parliament : " upon which, Richaute enlarged himself upon some particulars, which Mr. Harding was to have urged, " of the King's desire of peace, of the concurrence of all the Lords, as well those at Oxford, as in the army, in the same desire of preserving the kingdom from a conquest by the Scots ; " and other discourse to that purpose ; " and of the King's readiness to give him any security for the performance of all he had promised." To all which the Earl answered fully, " that, according to the commission he had received, he would defend the King's person and posterity ; and that the best counsel he could give him was, to go to his Parliament."

As soon as the King received this account of his letter,

letter, and saw there was nothing to be expected by those addressees, he resolved to push it on the other way, and to fight with the enemy as soon as was possible; and so, the next day, drew up all his army in sight of the enemy; and had many skirmishes between the horse of both armies, till the enemy quitted that part of a large heath upon which they stood, and retired to a hill near the park of the Lord Mohun, at Boconnocke; they having the possession of his house, where they quartered conveniently. That night both armies, after they had well viewed each other, lay in the field; and many are of opinion, that if the King had that day vigorously advanced upon the enemy, to which his army was well inclined, though upon some disadvantage of ground, they would have been easily defeated: for the King's army was in good heart, and willing to engage; on the contrary, the Earl's seemed much surprised, and in confusion, to see the other army so near them. But such censures always attend such conjunctures, and find fault for what is not done, as well as with that which is done.

The next morning the King called a council, to consider whether they should that day compel the enemy to fight; which was concluded not to be reasonable; and that it was better to expect the arrival of Sir Richard Grenvil; who was yet in the west of Cornwall, and had a body of eight thousand horse and foot, as was reported, though they were not near that number. It was hereupon ordered, that all the foot should be presently drawn into the inclosures between Boconnocke and the heath; all the fences to the grounds of that country being very good breast-works against the enemy. The King's head quarter was made at the Lord Mohun's house, which the Earl of Essex had kindly quitted, when the King's army advanced the day before. The horse

horse were quartered, for the most part, between Liskard and the sea; and every day compelled the Earl's forces to retire, and to lodge close together; and in this posture both armies lay within view of each other for three or four days. In this time, that inconvenient spirit, that had possessed so many of the horse officers, appeared again; and some of them, who had conferred with the prisoners, who were every day taken, and some of them officers of as good quality as any they had, were persuaded by them, "that all the obstinacy in Essex, in refusing
 "to treat with the King, proceeded only from his jealousy that when the King had got him into his hands,
 "he would take revenge upon him for all the mischief
 "he had sustained by him; and that if he had any assurance that what was promised would be complied
 "with, he would be quickly induced to treat."

Upon this excellent evidence, these politic contrivers presumed to prepare a letter, that should be subscribed by the General, and all the superior officers of the army; the beginning of which letter was, "that they had obtained leave of the King to send that letter to him." There they proposed, "that he with six officers, whom
 "he should choose, would the next morning meet with
 "their General, and six other officers, as should be appointed to attend him; and if he would not himself
 "be present, that then six officers of the King's army
 "should meet with six such as he should appoint, at any
 "place that should be thought fit; and that they, and
 "every of them, who subscribed the letter, would, upon
 "the honour and reputation of gentlemen and soldiers,
 "with their lives maintain that whatsoever his Majesty
 "should promise, should be performed; and that it
 "should not be in the power of any private person whatsoever, to interrupt or hinder the execution thereof."

When

When they had framed this letter between themselves, and shewed it to many others, whose approbation they received, they resolved to present it to the King, and humbly to desire his permission that it might be sent to the Earl of Essex.

How unpardonable soever the presumption and insolence in contriving and framing this letter was, and how penal soever it might justly have been to them, yet, when it was presented to his Majesty, many who liked not the manner of it, were persuaded by what they were told, that it might do good; and in the end they prevailed with the King to consent that the officers should sign it; and that the General should send a trumpet with it; his Majesty at the same time concluding, that it would find no better reception than his own letter had done; and likewise believing, that the rejecting of it would purge that unruly spirit out of his army, and that he should never more be troubled with those vexatious addresses, and that it might add some spirit and animosity to the officers and soldiers, when they should see, with how much neglect and contempt the Earl received their application: and so Prince Maurice, General Goring, and all the superior officers of the army, signed the letter; which a trumpet delivered to the Earl of Essex; who, the next day, returned his answer to them in these words: "My Lords, in the beginning of your letter you express by what authority you send it; "I having no authority from the Parliament, who have "employed me, to treat, cannot give way to it without "breach of trust. My Lords, I am your humble servant, Essex. Listithiel, Aug. 10. 1644." This short furly answer produced the effect the King wished and expected; they who had been so over-active in contriving the address, were most ashamed of their folly; and the whole

whole army seemed well composed to obtain that by their swords, which they could not by their pen.

Sir Richard Greenvil was now come up to the post where he should be; and, at Bodmin, in his march, he fallen upon a party of the Earl's horse, and killed many and taken others prisoners, and presented himself to the King at Boconnocke; giving his Majesty an account of his proceedings, and a particular of his forces; which after all the high discourses, amounted really but to eighteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; above one hundred of which were of the Queen's troop, (left behind when her Majesty embarked for France), under the command of Captain Edward Bret; who had done very good service in the western parts of that county, from the time of the Queen's departure, and much confirmed the Trained Bands of those parts. This troop was presently added to the King's guards under the Lord Bernard Stuart, and Captain Bret was made Major of that regiment.

Though the Earl of Essex had but strait and narrow room for his quarters for so great an army of horse and foot, yet he had the good town of Foy and the sea to friend; by which he might reasonably assure himself of store of provisions, the Parliament ships having all the jurisdiction there; and so, if he preserved his post, which was so situated that he could not be compelled to fight without giving him great advantage, he might well conclude, that Waller, or some other force sent from the Parliament, would be shortly upon the King's back, as his Majesty was upon his: and no question, this rational confidence was a great motive to him to neglect all overtures made to him by the King; besides the punctuality and stubbornness of his own nature; which whosoever was well acquainted with, might easily have fore-

foreseen, what effect all those applications would have produced. It was therefore now resolved to make his quarters yet straiter, and to cut off even his provisions by sea, or a good part thereof. To which purpose Sir Richard Greenvil drew his men from Bodmin, and possessed himself of Lanhetherick, a strong house of the Lord Roberts, two miles west of Boconnocke, and over the river that runs to Liffithiel, and thence to Foy, and likewise to Reprime Bridge; by which the enemy was not only deprived of that useful outlet, but a safe communication made between him and the King's army, which was before interrupted. And on the other side, which was of more importance, Sir Jacob Ashley, with a good party of horse and foot, made himself master of View-Hall, another house of the Lord Mohun's, over against Foy, and of Pernon Fort, a mile below it, at the mouth of the haven; both which places he found so tenable, that he put Captain Page into one, and Captain Garraway into the other, with two hundred commanded men, and two or three pieces of ordnance; which these two captains made good, and defended so well, that they made Foy utterly useless to Essex, save for the quartering his men; not suffering any provisions to be brought in to him from the sea that way. And it was exceedingly wondered at by all men, that he, being so long possessed of Foy, did not put strong guards into those places; by which he might have prevented his army's being brought into those extreme necessities they shortly after fell into; which might easily be foreseen, and as easily, that way, have been prevented.

Now the King had leisure to sit still, and warily to expect what invention or stratagem the Earl would make use of, to make some attempt upon his army, or to make his own escape. In this posture both armies lay still,

without any notable action, for the space of eight or ten days; when the King, seeing no better fruit from all that was hitherto done, resolved to draw his whole army together, and to make his own quarters yet much nearer, and either to force Essex to fight, or to be uneasy even in his quarters. And it was high time to do so : for it was now certain, that either Waller himself, or some other forces, were already upon their march towards the West. With this resolution the whole army advanced in such a manner, that the enemy was compelled still to retire before them, and to quit their quarters ; and among the rest, a rising ground called Beacon-Hill ; which they no sooner quitted, than the King possessed ; and immediately caused a square work to be there raised, and a battery made, upon which some pieces of cannon were planted, that shot into their quarters, and did them great hurt ; when their cannon, though they returned twenty shot for one, did very little or no harm.

And now the King's forces had a full prospect over all the other's quarters ; saw how all their foot and horse were disposed, and from whence they received all their forage and provisions ; which when clearly viewed and observed, Goring was sent with the greatest part of the horse, and fifteen hundred foot, a little westward to St. Blase, to drive the enemy yet closer together, and to cut off the provisions they received from thence ; which was so well executed, that they did not only possess themselves of St. Austel, and the westerly part of St. Blase, (so that the enemy's horse was reduced to that small extent of earth that is between the river of Foy and that at Blase, which is not above two miles in breadth, and little more in length ; in which they had for the most part fed since they came to Liffithiel, and therefore it could not now long supply them), but likewise were
masters

masters of the Parr near St. Blase; whereby they deprived them of the chief place of landing the provisions which came by sea. And now the Earl begun to be very sensible of the ill condition he was in, and discerned that he should not be able long to remain in that posture; besides, he had received advertisement that the party which was sent for his relief from London, had received some brush in Somersetshire, which would much retard their march; and therefore it behoved him to enter upon new counsels, and to take new resolutions.

It is very true the defeat at Cropredy (in which there did not appear to be one thousand men killed, or taken prisoners) had so totally broken Waller's army, that it could never be brought to fight after: but when he had marched at a distance from the King, to recover the broken spirits of his men, and heard that his Majesty was marched directly towards the West, observing likewise that every night very many of his men run from him, he thought it necessary to go himself to London, where he made grievous complaints against the Earl of Essex, as if he had purposely exposed him to be affronted; all which was greedily hearkened to, and his person received, and treated, as if he had returned victorious after having defeated the King's army: which was a method very contrary to what was used in the King's quarters, where all accidental misfortunes, how inevitable soever, were still attended with very apparent discountenance.

But when he went himself to London, or presently upon it, he sent his Lieutenant General Middleton (a person of whom we shall say much hereafter, and who lived to wipe out the memory of the ill footsteps of his youth; for he was but eighteen years of age when he was first led into rebellion) with a body of three thousand

horse and dragoons, to follow the King into the West and to wait upon his rear, with orders to reduce in the way Donnington-castle, the house of a private gentleman near Newbury, in which there were a company or two of foot of the King's; and which they believed would be delivered up as soon as demanded; being a place, as they thought, of little strength. But Middleton found it well defended by Colonel Bois, who was governor of it; that, after he had lost at least three hundred officers and soldiers in attempting to take it, he was compelled to recommend it to the Governor of Abingdon, to send an officer and some troops to block it up from intercepting that great road into the West; and himself prosecute his march to follow the King.

In Somersetshire, he heard of great magazines of provisions, made for the supply of the King's army, which were sent every day by strong convoys to Exeter, there to wait farther orders. To surprise these provisions, he sent Major Carr, with five hundred horse; who fell into the village where the convoy was, and was very likely to have mastered them, when Sir Francis Doddington, with a troop of horse, and some foot from Bridgewater, came seasonably to their relief; and after a very sharp conflict, in which two or three good officers of the King's were killed, and among them Major Killigrew, a very hopeful young man, the son of a gallant and most deserving father, he totally routed the enemy; killed thirty or forty upon the place; and had the pursuit of them two or three miles; in which Major Carr, who commanded the party, and many other officers, were taken; and many others desperately wounded; and recovered all that they had taken: which sharp encounters, where always many more men are lost, than are killed, or taken prisoners, put such a stop to Middleton's march, that he was glad

to retire back to Sherborne, that he might refresh the weariness, and recover the spirits of his men. This was the defeat, or obstruction, which the Earl of Effex had intelligence that the forces had met with coming to his relief; and which made him despair of any succour that way.

When the Earl found himself in this condition, and that, within very few days, he must be without any provisions for his army; he resolved, that Sir William Balfour should use his utmost endeavour to break through with his whole body of horse, and to save them the best he could; and then that he himself would embark his foot at Foy, and with them escape by sea. And two foot soldiers of the army, whereof one was a Frenchman; came over from them, and assured the King, "that they intended, that night, to break through with their horse, which were all then drawn on that side the river, and town of Liffithiel; and that the foot were to march to Foy, where they should be embarked." This intelligence agreed with what they otherwise received, and was believed as it ought to be; and thereupon order was given, "that both armies" (for that under Prince Maurice was looked upon as distinct, and always so ~~was~~) "should stand to their arms all that night: and if the horse attempted an escape, fall on them from their quarters;" the passage between them, ~~through which~~ they must go, being but a musquet-shot over: ~~and they~~ could not avoid going very near a ~~very~~ ~~large~~ ~~one~~ that was well fortified; in which ~~first~~ ~~multitude~~ ~~of~~ ~~men~~ placed. Advertisement was ~~sent to~~ ~~General~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~horse~~; and the orders renewed, ~~which~~ ~~had~~ ~~been~~ ~~given~~, for the breaking down ~~the~~ ~~road~~ down the trees near the ~~highway~~. ~~It~~ ~~was~~ ~~not~~ ~~until~~ ~~the~~ ~~next~~ ~~day~~ ~~that~~ ~~the~~ ~~King~~ ~~was~~ ~~able~~ ~~to~~ ~~escape~~ ~~by~~ ~~sea~~.

Balfour
with the
Earl of Ef-
sex's horſe
eſcapes
through the
King's
army.

The effect of all this providence was not ſuch as was reaſonably to be expected. The night grew dark and miſty, as the enemy could wiſh ; and about three in the morning, the whole body of the horſe paſſed with great ſilence between the armies, and within piſtol-shot of the cottage, without ſo much as one muſquet diſcharged at them. At the break of day, the horſe were diſcovered marching over the heath, beyond the reach of the foot ; and there was only at hand the Earl of Cleveland's brigade, the body of the King's horſe being at a greater diſtance. That brigade, to which ſome other troops which had taken the alarm joined, followed them in the rear ; and killed ſome, and took more priſoners : but ſtronger parties of the enemy frequently turning upon them, and the whole body often making a ſtand, they were often compelled to retire ; yet followed in that manner, that they killed and took about a hundred ; which was the greateſt damage they ſuſtained in their whole march. The notice and orders came to Goring, when he was in one of his jovial exerciſes ; which he received with mirth, and ſlighting thoſe who ſent them, as men who took alarms too warmly ; and he continued his delights, till all the enemy's horſe were paſſed through his quarters ; nor did then purſue them in any time. So that, excepting ſuch who, by the tiring of their horſes, became priſoners, Balfour continued his march even to London, with leſs loſs or trouble than can be imagined, to the infinite reproach of the King's army, and of all his garrisons in the way. Nor was any man called in queſtion for this ſupine neglect ; it being not thought fit to make ſevere inquiſition into the behaviour of the reſt, when it was ſo notoriously known, how the ſuperior officer had failed in his duty.

The next morning, after the horſe were gone, the Earl
drew

drew all his foot together, and quitted Liftithiel; and marched towards Foy; having left order for the breaking down that bridge. But his Majesty himself from his new fort discerned it, and sent a company of musqueteers, who quickly beat those that were left; and thereby preserved the bridge; over which the King presently marched to overtake the rear of the army, which marched so fast, yet in good order, that they left two demi-culverins, and two other very good guns, and some ammunition, to be disposed of by the King. That day was spent in smart skirmishes, in which many fell; and if the King's horse had been more, whereof he had only two troops of his guards, (which did good service), it would have proved a bloody day to the enemy. The night coming on, the King lay in the field, his own quarters being so near the enemy, that they discharged many cannon-shot, which fell within few yards of him, when he was at supper. Sunday being the next day, and the first day of September, in the morning, Butler, Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of Essex, who had been taken prisoner at Boconnocke, and was exchanged for an officer of the King's, came from the Earl to desire a parley. As soon as he was sent away, the Earl embarked himself, with the Lord Roberts, and such other officers as he had most kindness for, in a vessel at Foy: and escaped into Plymouth; leaving all his army, cannon, and ammunition, to the care of Major Skippon; who was to make as good conditions as he could; and after a very short stay he went on board a ship of the royal navy there; and was, within few days, delivered where he was received without any respect they had constantly paid him than they could have shewed to me.

brought back his own army, but the King himself likewise with him.

Skippon
makes con-
ditions for
the foot.

The King consented to the parley; upon which a cessation was concluded; and hostages interchangeably delivered; and then the enemy sent propositions, such as upon delivery of a strong fortified town, after a handsome defence, are usually granted. But they quickly found they were not looked upon as men in that condition; and so, in the end, they were contented to deliver up all their cannon; which, with the four taken two or three days before, were eight and thirty pieces of cannon; a hundred barrels of powder, with match and bullets proportionable; and about six thousand arms; which being done, "the officers were to have liberty to wear their swords, and to pass with their own money, and proper goods; and, to secure them from plunder, they were to have a convoy to Poole, or Southampton; all their sick and wounded might stay in Foy till they were recovered, and then have passes to Plymouth."

This agreement was executed accordingly, on Monday the second of September; and though it was near the evening before all was finished, they would march away that night; and though all care was taken to preserve them from violence, yet first at Liffithiel, where they had been long quartered, and in other towns through which they had formerly passed, the inhabitants, especially the women, who pretended to see their own clothes and goods about them, which they had been plundered of, treated them very rudely, even to stripping of some of the soldiers, and more of their wives, who had before behaved themselves with great insolence in the march. That night there came about one hundred of them to the King's army, and of the six thousand, for so many marched out of Foy, there did not a third part come to Southampton;

Southampton ; where the King's convoy left them ; to which Skippon gave a large testimony under his hand, " that they had carried themselves with great civility " towards them, and fully complied with their obligation."

Whilst the King was in the West, though he had left Oxford in a very ill state in respect of provisions and fortifications, and soldiers, and of the different humours of those who remained there, the town being full of lords, (besides those of the council), and of persons of the best quality, with very many ladies, who, when not pleased themselves, kept others from being so ; yet, in his absence, they who were solicitous to carry on his service, concurred and agreed so well together, that they prevailed with the rest to do every thing that was necessary. They caused provisions of corn to be laid in, in great proportions ; assigning the public schools to that purpose ; and committing the custody of them to the owners of the corn. They had raised so many volunteers, that their guards were well kept, and there was need they should be so ; for when both the Parliament armies were before the town, Major General Brown, a citizen of London of good reputation, and a stout man, had been left in Abingdon with a strong garrison ; from whence, being superior in number, he infested Oxford very much ; which gave them the more reason to prosecute the fortifications ; which, in the most important places, they brought to a good perfection ; and when they had no more apprehension of a siege, Waller being at a distance, and not able to follow the King, and less able to sit down before Oxford, they resolved to do somewhat to be talked of.

The King had, before his departure, found they were not satisfied with their governor, and very apprehensive of his rudeness, and want of complacency. Upon the death

Affairs at
Oxford
during the
King's absence.

death of Sir William Penniman, who had been governor of Oxford, to the great satisfaction of all men, being a very brave and generous person, and who performed all manner of civilities to all sorts of people, as having had a good education, and well understanding the manners of the Court, (the Queen being then in Oxford her Majesty, who thought herself the safer for being under the charge and care of a Roman Catholic, prevailed with the King to confer that charge upon Sir Arthur Aston; who had been at Reading, and had the fortune to be very much esteemed, where he was not known; and very much disliked, where he was; and he was by this time too well known at Oxford, to be beloved by any; which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because he saw the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason; and therefore his Majesty had given an extraordinary commission to the Lords of his Council, to whose authority he was to submit, which obliged him to live with a little more respect towards them, than he desired to do; being a man of a rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it. There were likewise some officers of name, who, having then no charge in the army, stayed in the town; and those, by the King's direction, the Lords disposed to assist the Governor; and particularly, to take care of the several quarters of the town; one whereof was assigned to each of them: among them, Colonel Gage was one; who having the English regiment in Flanders, had got leave there to make offer of his service to the King; and to that purpose was newly come from thence to Oxford.

He was in truth a very extraordinary man, of a large and very graceful person, of an honourable extraction,
his

his grandfather having been Knight of the Garter; besides his great experience and abilities as a soldier, which were very eminent, he had very great parts of breeding, being a very good scholar in the polite parts of learning, a great master in the Spanish and Italian tongues, besides the French and the Dutch, which he spoke in great perfection; having scarce been in England in twenty years before. He was likewise very conversant in courts; having for many years been much esteemed in that of the Arch-Duke and Dutchess, Albert and Isabella, at Brussels; which was a great and very regular court at that time; so that he deserved to be looked upon as a wise and accomplished person. Of this gentleman, the Lords of the Council had a singular esteem, and consulted frequently with him, whilst they looked to be besieged; and thought Oxford to be the more secure for his being in it; which rendered him so ungrateful to the Governor, Sir Arthur, that he crossed him in any thing he proposed, and hated him perfectly; as they were of natures, and manners, as different as men can be.

The garrison of Basing house, the seat of the Marquis of Winchester, in which himself was and commanded, had been now straitly besieged, for the space of above three months, by a conjunction of the Parliament troops of Hampshire and Suffex, under the command of Norton, Onslow, Jarvis, Whitehead, and Morley, all colonels of regiments, and now united in this service under the command of Norton; a man of spirit, and of the greatest fortune of all the rest. It was so closely begirt before the King's march into the West, and was looked upon as a place of such importance, that when the King sent notice to Oxford of his resolution to march into the West, the Council humbly desired his Majesty, "that he would make Basing his way, and thereby relieve it," which

Colonel
Gage re-
lieves
Basing-
house.

which his Majesty found would have retarded his march too much, and might have invited Waller the sooner to follow him; and therefore declined it. From that time the Marquis, by frequent expreffes, importuned the Lords of the Council "to provide, in fome manner, for his relief; and not to fuffer his perfon, and a place from whence the rebels received fo much prejudice to fall into their hands." The Lady Marchionefs, his wife, was then in Oxford; and folicted very diligently the timely prefervation of her husband; which made every body defire to gratify her, being a lady of great honour and alliance, as fifter to the Earl of Effex and to the Lady Marchionefs of Hertford; who was likewise in the town, and engaged her husband to take the bufinefs to heart: and all the Roman Catholics, who were numerous in the town, looked upon *themselves* as concerned to contribute all they could to the good work and fo offered to lift themfelves and their fervants in the fervice.

The Council, both upon public and private motives was very heartily difpofed to effect it; and had feveral conferences together, and with the officers; in all which the Governor too reafonably opposed the defign, "as full of more difficulties, and liable to greater damages, than any foldier, who underftood command, would expose himfelf and the King's fervice to;" and protefted, "that he would not fuffer any of the finall garrifon that was under his charge, to be hazarded in the attempt." It was very true, Bafing was near forty miles from Oxford, and, in the way between them, the enemy had a ftrong garrifon of horfe and foot at Abingdon, and as ftrong at Reading, whofe horfe every day vifited all the highways near, befides a body of horfe and dragoons quartered at Newbury; fo that it appeared to moft men hardly

hardly possible to send a party to Basing, and impossible for that party to return to Oxford, if they should be able to get to Basing : yet new importunities from the Marquis, with a positive declaration, “ that he could not defend it above ten days, and must then submit to the worst conditions the rebels were like to grant to his person, and to his religion ; ” and new instances from his Lady, prevailed with the Lords to enter upon a new consultation ; in which the Governor persisted in his old resolution, as seeing no cause to change it.

In this debate Colonel Gage declared, “ that though he thought the service full of hazard, especially for the return ; yet if the Lords would, by lifting their own servants, persuade the gentlemen in the town to do the like, and engage their own persons, whereby a good troop or two of horse might be raised, (upon which the principal dependence must be), he would willingly, if there were nobody else thought fitter for it, undertake the conduct of them himself ; and hoped he should give a good account of it : ” which being offered with great cheerfulness by a person, of whose prudence, as well as courage, they had a full confidence, they all resolved to do the utmost that was in their power to make it effectual.

There was about this time, by the surrender of Greenland-house, (which could not possibly be longer defended, the whole structure being beaten down by the cannon), the regiment of Colonel Hawkins marched into Oxford, amounting to near three hundred ; to which as many others joined as made it up four hundred men. The Lords mounted their servants upon their own horses ; and they, with the volunteers, who frankly lifted themselves, amounted to a body of two hundred and fifty very good horse, all put under the command of Colonel William

William Web, an excellent officer, bred up in Flanders in some emulation with Colonel Gage; and who, upon the Catholic interest, was at this time contented to serve under him. With this small party for so great an action, Gage marched out of Oxford in the beginning of the night; and, by the morning, reached the place where he intended to refresh himself and his troops; which was a wood near Wallingford; from whence he dispatched an express to Sir William Ogle, Governor of Winchester; who had made a promise to the Lords of the Council, "that, whensoever they would endeavour the raising of the siege before Basing, he would send one hundred horse and three hundred foot out of his garrison, for their assistance;" and a presumption upon this aid, was the principal motive for the undertaking: and so he was directed, at what hour in the morning his party should fall into Basing park, in the rear of the rebels' quarters; whilst Gage himself would fall on the other side; the Marquis being desired at the same time to make frequent sallies from the house.

After some hours of refreshment in the morning, and sending this express to Winchester, the troops marched through by-lanes to Aldermaston, a village out of any great road; where they intended to take more rest that night. They had marched, from the time they left Oxford, with orange-tawny scarfs and ribbons, that they might be taken for the Parliament soldiers; and hoped, by that artifice, to have passed undiscovered even to the approach upon the besiegers. But the party of horse which was sent before to Aldermaston, found there some of the Parliament horse, and, forgetting their orange-tawny scarfs, fell upon them; and killed some, and took six or seven prisoners; whereby the secret was discovered, and notice quickly sent to Basing of the approaching danger;

danger; which accident made their stay shorter at that village than was intended, and than the weariness of the soldiers required. About eleven of the clock, they begun their march again; which they continued all that night; the horsemen often alighting, that the foot might ride, and others taking many of them behind them; however they could not but be extremely weary and furbated.

Between four and five of the clock on Wednesday morning, it having been Monday night that they left Oxford, they arrived within a mile of Basing; where an officer, sent from Sir William Ogle, came to them to let them know, "that he durst not send his troops so far, in regard many of the enemy's horse lay between Winchester and Basing." This broke all the Colonel's measures; and, since there was no receding, made him change the whole method of his proceedings; and, instead of dividing his forces, and falling on in several places, as he meant to have done if the Winchester forces had complied with their obligation, or if his march had been undiscovered, he resolved now to fall on jointly with all his body in one place; in order to which, he commanded the men to be ranged in battalions; and rid to every squadron, giving them such words as were proper to the occasion; which no man could more pertinently deliver, or with a better grace: he commanded every man to tie a white tape ribbon, or handkerchief, above the elbow of their right arm; and gave them the word *St. George*; which was the sign and the word that he had sent before to the Marquis, lest in his fallies their men, for want of distinction, might fall foul of each other.

Thus they marched towards the house, Colonel Web leading the right wing, and Lieutenant Colonel Bunkly the left of the horse; and Gage himself the foot. They had not

not marched far, when at the upper end of a large campaign field, upon a little rising of an hill, they discerned a body of five cornets of horse very full, standing in very good order to receive them. But before any impression could be made upon them, the Colonel must pass between two hedges lined very thick with musqueteers; from whom the horse very courageously bore a smart volley, and then charged the enemy's horse so gallantly, that, after a shorter resistance than was expected from the known courage of Norton, though many of his men fell, they gave ground; and at last plainly run to a safe place, beyond which they could not be pursued. The foot disputed the business much better, and being beaten from hedge to hedge, retired into their quarters and works; which they did not abandon in less than two hours; and then a free entrance into the house was gained on that side, where the Colonel only stayed to salute the Marquis, and to put in the ammunition he had brought with him; which was only twelve barrels of powder, and twelve hundred weight of match; and immediately marched with his horse and foot to Basingstoke, a good market-town two miles from the house; leaving one hundred foot to be led, by some officers of the garrison, to the town of Basing, a village but a mile distant. In Basingstoke they found store of wheat, malt, oats, salt, bacon, cheese, and butter; as much of which was all that day sent to the house, as they could find carts or horses to transport, together with fourteen barrels of powder, and some musquets, and forty or fifty head of cattle, with above one hundred sheep: whilst the other party, that went to Basing town, beat the enemy that was quartered there, after having killed forty or fifty of them; some fled into the church, where they were quickly taken prisoners; and, among them, two captains,

captains, Jarvise and Jephson, the two eldest sons of two of the greatest rebels of that country, and both heirs to good fortunes, who were carried prisoners to Basing-house; the rest, who besieged that side, being fled into a strong fort which they had raised in the park. The Colonel spent that and the next day in sending all manner of provisions into the house; and then, reasonably computing that the garrison was well provided for two months, he thought of his retreat to Oxford; which it was time to do: for besides that Norton had drawn all his men together, who had been dismayed, with all the troops which lay quartered within any distance, and appeared within sight of the house more numerous and gay than before, as if he meant to be revenged before they parted; he was likewise well informed by the persons he had employed, that the enemy from Abingdon had lodged themselves at Aldermaston, and those from Reading and Newbury, in two other villages upon the river Kennet; over which he was to pass.

Hereupon, that he might take away the apprehension that he meant suddenly to depart, he sent out orders, which he was sure would come into the enemy's hands, to two or three villages next the house, "that they should, by the next day noon, send such proportions of corn into Basing-house, as were mentioned in the warrants; upon pain, if they failed by the time, to have a thousand horse and dragoons sent to fire the towns." This being done, and all his men drawn together about eleven of the clock at night, Thursday the second night after he came thither, the Marquis giving him two or three guides who knew the country exactly, he marched from Basing without sound of drum or trumpet, and passed the Kennet, undiscovered, by a ford

near a bridge which the enemy had broke down; and thereby thought they had secured that passage; the horse taking the foot *en croupe*; and then, marching ways, in the morning they likewise passed over the Thames, at a ford little more than a mile from Reading and so escaped the enemy, and got before night to Wallingford; where he securely rested, and refreshed his men that night; and the next day arrived safe at Oxford having lost only two captains, and two or three other gentlemen, and common men; in all to the number eleven; and forty or fifty wounded, but not dangerously. What number the enemy lost could not be known; but it was believed they lost many, besides above one hundred prisoners that were taken; and it was confessed, by enemies as well as friends, that it was as soldierly an action as had been performed in the war on either side and redounded very much to the reputation of the commander.

The next day after the army of Essex was gone, and dissolved, the King returned to his quarters at Bockenocke, and stayed there only a day to refresh his men: having sent, the day before, Greenvil, with the Cornish horse and foot, towards Plymouth, to join with Goring in the pursuit of Balfour, and that body of horse; which, by passing over the bridge near Salt-ash, they might easily have done. But he slackened his march that he might possess Salt-ash, which the enemy had quitted, and left therein eleven pieces of cannon, with some arms and ammunition; which, together with the town, was not worth his unwarrantable stay. This kept him from joining with Goring; who thereby, and for want of that foot, excused his not fighting with Balfour when he was within distance; but contented himself with sending a commanded party to follow his rear; and in that too ca-

ger a pursuit, Captain Sam. Wainman, a young man of extraordinary parts and expectation, the son of a very wise and eminent father, was lost, to the irreparable damage of a noble family. Thus Balfour, by an orderly and well governed march, passed above one hundred miles in the King's quarters, as hath been said before, without any considerable loss, to a place of safety within their own precincts.

The fear and apprehension of the enemy was no sooner over, than the murmur begun, "that the King had been persuaded to grant too good conditions to that body of foot; and that he might well have forced them to have submitted to his mercy, as well as to have laid down their arms; and so have made both officers and soldiers to become prisoners of war: by which the enemy would not have been able so soon to have raised another army." But they who undertook to censure that action, how great a number soever they were, did not at all understand the present temper and constitution of the King's army; which then was not near so strong as it was reputed to be. Whatever it might have done by a brisk and vigorous attempt, when it first entered Cornwall, which was in the beginning of August, and when a party of his Majesty's horse surprised and seized the Earl of Essex's own Lieutenant Colonel, and many other officers of name at Bocoanocke, before his Majesty was suspected to be in any near distance: I say, whatever might have been then done, in that consternation the enemy was then in, the case was very much altered in the beginning of September, when the articles were made; and when the number of the foot who laid down their arms was in truth superior to those of the King's, (as it will appear anon), when his army marched out of Cornwall. The oversight, which was a great one, was

on the other side, when their horse broke through. If they had then known, and it was hardly possible they should not know it, that all the King's horse, his guard only excepted, were at that time quartered behind them, about St. Blase, their foot might very well have marched away with their horse, their cannon only being left behind, and having got but four or five hours before, which they might easily, and as undiscerned have done, the King's army in the condition and state it was in, naked and unshod, would through those inclosed parts, narrow lanes, and deep ditches, in Devon and Somerset, have been able to have done them little harm: besides the King very well knew at the time the articles were made, that Middleton, notwithstanding all his affronts, was then come to Tiverton; and therefore there can be no doubt, that his Majesty, in those condescensions, proceeded with no less prudence than clemency.

The King
sends a mes-
sage of
peace.

After this great success, the King thought fit to renew his offer of peace; and sent a message to the two Houses of Parliament, to desire that there might be a treaty to that purpose; which message was sent by a trumpet to the Earl of Essex, after his repair to London, to be delivered by him, of which there was no consideration taken in three months after the receipt of it. This done, the King was persuaded in his way (as it was not much out of it) to look upon Plymouth; for so far it might be presumed that the Cornish troops, how impatient soever they were to be at their harvest, would attend him: and if he could, by appearing before it, become master of it, which was not thought improbable, he might return to Oxford in great triumph, and leave the West thoroughly reduced: for then Lyme could not hold out, and he might be sure to carry an army with him strongly recruited; but if it proved not a work of ease

ease and expedition, he might proceed in his march without farther stay; and he quickly found it necessary to do so; having sent a summons to the town, and received a rude answer to it: for the Earl of Essex had left the Lord Roberts Governor in that town; a man of a four and furlly nature, a great opiniâtre, and one who must be overcome before he would believe that he could be so. The King, finding no good could be done with him, and that the reducing the town would require some time, pursued his former resolution, and marched away; having committed the blocking up of Plymouth to Sir Richard Greenvil, a The King leaves Sir Richard Greenvil to block up Plymouth. man who had been bred a soldier, and of great expectation, but of greater promises; having with all manner of assurance undertaken to take the town by Christmas, if such conditions might be performed to him, all which were punctually complied with; whilst he made his quarters as far as ever they had been formerly from the town; beginning his war first upon his wife, who had been long in possession of her own fortune, by virtue of a decree in Chancery, many years before the troubles; and seizing upon all she had, and then making himself master of all their estates, who were in the service of the Parliament, without doing any thing of importance upon the town; only upon the first message between the Lord Roberts and him, there arose so mortal a misunderstanding, that there was never civility or quarter observed between them; but such as were taken on either side were put to the sword, or, which was worse, to the halter.

Since there will be often occasion to mention this gentleman, Sir Richard Greenvil, in the ensuing discourse, and because many men believed, that he was hardly dealt with in the next year, where all the proceedings will be set down at large, it will not be unfit, in this

place, to say somewhat of him, and of the manner and merit of his entering into the King's service some months before the time we are now upon. He was of a very ancient and worthy family in Cornwall, which had in several ages, produced men of great courage, and very signal in their fidelity to, and service of, the Crown; and was himself younger brother (though in his nature, or humour, not of kin to him) to the brave Sir Bevil Grenvil, who so courageously lost his life in the battle of Lansdown. Being a younger brother, and a very young man, he went into the Low Countries to learn the profession of a soldier; to which he had dedicated himself under the greatest General of that age, Prince Maurice, in the regiment of my Lord Veere, who was General of all the English. In that service he was looked upon as a man of courage, and a diligent officer, in the quality of a captain, to which he attained after few years' service. About this time, in the end of the reign of King James, the war broke out between England and Spain; and in the expedition to Cales, this gentleman served as a major to a regiment of foot, and continued in the same command, in the war that soon after followed against France; and, at the Isle of Rhee, insinuated himself into the very good grace of the Duke of Buckingham, who was the General in that invasion; and after the unfortunate retreat from thence, was made colonel of a regiment with general approbation, and as an officer that well deserved it.

His credit every day increased with the Duke; who, out of the generosity of his nature, as a most generous person he was, resolved to raise his fortune; towards the beginning whereof, by his countenance and solicitation, he prevailed with a rich widow to marry him, who had been a lady of extraordinary beauty, which she had
not

not yet outlived; and though she had no great dower by her husband, a younger brother of the Earl of Suffolk; yet she inherited a fair fortune of her own, near Plymouth; and was besides very rich in a personal estate, and was looked upon as the richest match of the West. This lady, by the Duke's credit, Sir Richard Greenvil (for he was now made a knight and baronet) obtained; and was thereby possessed of a plentiful estate upon the borders of his own country; where his own family had great credit and authority. The war being quickly at an end, and he deprived of his great patron, had nothing now to depend upon but the fortune of his wife; which, though ample enough to have supported the expence a person of his quality ought to have made, was not large enough to satisfy his vanity and ambition; nor so great, as he, upon common reports, had promised himself by her. By not being enough pleased with her fortune, he grew less pleased with his wife; who, being a woman of a haughty and imperious nature, and of a wit superior to his, quickly resented the disrespect she received from him; and in no degree studied to make herself easy to him. After some years spent together in these domestic unfriendly contestations, in which he possessed himself of all her estate, as the sole master of it, without allowing her, out of her own, any competency for herself, and indulged to himself all those licences in her own house, which to women are most grievous, she found means to withdraw herself from him; and was with all kindness received into that family, in which she had before been married, and was always very much respected.

Her absence was not ingrateful to him, till the tenants refused to pay him any more rent, and he found himself on a sudden deprived of her whole estate, which was all he had to live upon: for it appeared now, that she had,

before her marriage with him, settled her entire fortune so absolutely upon the Earl of Suffolk, that the preference was in him, and he required the rents to be paid to him. This begot a suit in the Chancery between Sir Richard Greenvil and the then Earl of Suffolk, before the Lord Coventry, who found the conveyances in law to be so firm, that he could not only not relieve Sir Richard Greenvil in equity, but that in justice he must decree the land to the Earl; which he did. This very sensible mortification transported him so much, that being a man who used to speak very bitterly of those he did not love, after all endeavours to have engaged the Earl in a personal conflict, he revenged himself upon him in such opprobrious language, as the government and justice of that time would not permit to pass unpunished: and the Earl appealed for reparation to the court of Star-chamber; where Sir Richard was decreed to pay three thousand pounds for damages to him; and was likewise fined the sum of three thousand pounds to the King; who gave the fine likewise to the Earl: so that Sir Richard was committed to the prison of the Fleet in execution for the whole six thousand pounds; which at that time was thought by all men to be a very severe and rigorous decree, and drew a general compassion towards the unhappy gentleman.

After he had endured many years of strict imprisonment, a little before the beginning of the late troubles, he made his escape out of the prison; and transporting himself beyond the seas, remained there till the Parliament was called that produced so many miseries to the kingdom; and when he heard that many decrees which had been made, in that time, by the court of Star-chamber, were repealed, and the persons grieved, absolved from those penalties, he likewise returned, and petitioned

to

to have his cause heard; for which a committee was appointed; but before it could be brought to any conclusion, the rebellion broke out in Ireland. Among the first troops that were raised, and transported for the suppression thereof, by the Parliament, (to whom the King had unhappily committed the prosecution of it), Sir Richard Grenvil, upon the fame of being a good officer, was sent over with a very good troop of horse; was major of the Earl of Leicester's own regiment of horse, and was very much esteemed by him, and the more by the Parliament, for the signal acts of cruelty he did every day commit upon the Irish; which were of so many kinds upon both sexes, young and old, hanging old men who were bedrid, because they would not discover where their money was, that he believed they had; and old women, some of quality, after he had plundered them, and found less than he expected; that they can hardly be believed, though notoriously known to be true.

After the cessation was made in Ireland, he pretended that his conscience would not give him leave to stay there, and was much the more welcome to the Parliament, for declaring so heartily against that cessation; and Sir William Waller being in the beginning of this year to make his expedition into the West, after the battle of Alresford, Sir Richard Grenvil was either commended to him, or invited by him, to command the horse under him; which he cheerfully accepted, not without many insinuations, how much his interest in Devonshire and Cornwall would advance their's. He received from the Parliament a great sum of money, for the making his equipage; in which he always affected more than ordinary lustre; and Sir William Waller communicated to him all his designs, with the ground
and

and foundation of them, as to an entire friend, and an officer of that eminence, by whose advice he meant to govern his own conduct.

His first and principal design was to surprize Basing house, by a correspondence with the Lord Edward Paulet, brother to the Marquis of Winchester, and to go with him, as unsuspected as a brother ought to be. For the better execution of this, Sir Richard Grenvil was sent before with a body of the horse, that all things might be well disposed, and prepared against the time Waller himself should come to him. He appointed rendezvous for the horse at Bagshot, and the same day marched out of London only with his equipage; which was very noble; a coach and six horses, a waggon and six horses, many led horses, and many servants: when these, when he came to Stanes, he left the Bagshot road, and marched directly to Reading, where the King's garrison then was; and thence, without delay, to Oxford, where he was very graciously received by the King, and the more, because he was not expected. He communicated then to the King the whole design of the surprize of Basing: upon which the King sent an express immediately to the Marquis, with all the particular informations; who thereupon seized upon his brother, and the other conspirators; who confessed all, with all the circumstances of the correspondence and combination. The Marquis prevailed with the King, that he might only turn his brother out of the garrison, after justice was done upon his complices. This very happy and seasonable discovery preserved that important place; which, without it, had infallibly been lost within few days, and therefore could not but much endear the person of the discoverer; upon whom the Parliament thundered out all those reproaches, which his deserting them

them in such a manner was liable to ; and denounced all those judgments upon him of attainder, confiscation, and incapacity of pardon, which they used to do against those, who, they thought, had done them most mischief, or against whom they were most incensed: which was all the excuse he could make for his severe proceedings against those of their party, who fell into his hands afterwards where he commanded.

From Oxford he went quickly into the West, before he had any command there ; declaring that he would assist Colonel Digby ; who, upon Prince Maurice's departure from thence with his army, was left to block up Plymouth ; which he did with much courage and soldierly ability. To him he had letters from the King, that he should put Sir Richard Greenvil into the possession of his wife's estate, that lay within his quarters, and which was justly liable to a sequestration by her living in London, and being too zealously of that party ; which the Colonel punctually did. And so he came, after so many years, to be again possessed of all that estate ; which was what he most set his heart upon.

One day he made a visit from his house, which he called his own, to the Colonel ; and dined with him ; and the Colonel civilly sent half a dozen troopers to wait on him home, lest any of the garrison, in their usual excursions, might meet with him. In his return home, he saw four or five fellows coming out of a neighbour wood, with burthens of wood upon their backs, which they had stolen. He bid the troopers fetch those fellows to him ; and finding that they were soldiers of the garrison, he made one of them hang all the rest ; which, to save his own life, he was contented to do : so strong his appetite was to those executions he had been accustomed
to

to in Ireland, without any kind of commission or pretence of authority.

Shortly after, upon a sally made with horse and foot from the town, Colonel Digby, (who, besides the keenness of his courage, had a more composed understanding and less liable to fumes, than some of his family who in sharper parts), charging them with such vigour as routed and drove them back, received himself in the close and unhappy wound, with a rapier, in the eye; which pierced near his brain; so that, though he was brought off by his soldiers, it was very long before he recovered enough to endure the air, and never did the effects of the wound. Upon this accident Sir Richard Greaves was placed in that command, which he executed for some months; until, upon the advance of the Earl of Essex, he was compelled to retire into Cornwall, where we found him at the King's coming thither.

This so large excursion upon a private person may seem very extravagant, and to carry in it too much animosity against the memory of a man who did some things well, and was not without some merit in the King's service: but they who know the occurrences of the next year, which will be faithfully related, and consider the severity that he compelled the prince to use towards him, of which he made a great noise afterwards in the world, and prevailed with some good men to believe that the proceeding against him was too rigorous, and that the council then about the Prince had some personal disrespect towards him, may reasonably believe, that this enlargement was in some degree necessary, that such a man's original, nature, manners, and disposition, should be manifest and clearly understood.

The King was now most intent to return into his winter

winter quarters at Oxford, which was all he could propose to himself; in which he expected to meet with all the obstructions and difficulties his enraged enemies could lay in his way. He knew well that Waller was even ready to come out of London, and that Middleton was retired from Tiverton to join with him; that they had sent for the Earl of Manchester to march towards the West with his victorious army: so that, if he long deferred his march, he must look to fight another battle, before he could reach Oxford. Notwithstanding all which, his army, that had been upon hard duty, and had made long marches above six months together, required some rest and refreshment; the foot were without clothes and shoes; and the horse in such ill humour, that without money they would be more discontented. To provide the best remedy that could be applied to these evils, the next day after the King marched from Plymouth, himself, attended only by his own troop, and the principal officers of the Court, went to Exeter; appointing the army, by slow marches, to follow, and to be quartered at Tiverton, and the other towns adjacent; where they arrived on the 21st of September.

His Majesty now quickly discerned how continual hard duty, with little fighting, had lessened and diminished his army. His own body of foot, which when he entered Cornwall were above four thousand, was at this time much fewer; and Prince Maurice's, which consisted of full four thousand five hundred, when the King first viewed them at Kirton, was not now half the number. Of all the forces under Greenvil, which had made so much noise, and had been thought worthy of the name of an army, there were only five hundred foot and three hundred horse left with him, for the blocking up Plymouth; the rest were dwindled away; or else, which

was

was his usual artifice, he had encouraged them to: for some time in Cornwall, and then to repair to: as many of them did; for his forces suddenly increased, and the truth is, few of the Cornish marched eastward with the King. The King's horse were harassed, and many of them dead in the marches; which contributed to the discontent of the riders; so that great provisions were to be made before they could begin a new march. By the diligence and activity of the commissioners appointed in Devonshire for those affairs, his Majesty was within few days supplied with two thousand pounds of money, which was presently distributed among the horse and three thousand suits of clothes, with good proportions of shoes and stockings; which were likewise delivered to the foot. What remained yet wanting for the horse and foot, was promised to meet them, upon their first entrance into Somersetshire; where the commissioners of that county had undertaken they should be ready.

There was another thing of equal importance to be provided for, before the King left Exeter; which was, the blocking up the troops of Lyme; which were grown more insolent by the success they had had; and made incursions sometimes even to the walls of Exeter; and to restrain a stronger garrison in Taunton. For when Prince Maurice raised his siege from Lyme, he had very unhappily drawn out the garrison of Taunton, which consisted of eight hundred men, under the command of Sir John Stawel, a person of that eminent courage and fidelity, that he would never have given it up; and left only fourscore men in the castle to be kept by a lieutenant, who basely gave it up, as soon as Essex in his passage demanded it; for which he deservedly afterwards suffered death. And it was now, by the garrison the Earl put into

into it, and the extreme malignity and pride of the inhabitants, in both which they exceeded, become a sharp thorn in the sides of all that populous county.

To remedy the first of these, some troops which depended upon the garrison of Exeter were assigned, and were to receive orders from Sir John Berkley, Governor thereof; who was the more vacant for that service by the reduction of Barnstable; which was done during the King's stay at Exeter. The other of Taunton was more unhappily committed to Colonel Windham, the Governor of Bridgewater; who, though a gentleman of known courage and unquestionable fidelity, by the divisions and factions in the country, was not equal to the work. To dispatch all this, the King stayed not a full week at Exeter; but hastened his march to Chard in Somersetshire, where he stayed longer; for which he paid dear after; for he might otherwise have reached Oxford, before the enemy was in a conjunction strong enough to stop him: yet even that stay could not be prevented, except he would have left the money and clothes (which the commissioners of Somersetshire promised, and did deliver there at last) behind him; which would not have been grateful to the army.

It was the last of September, that the King marched from Chard; and quartered that night at a house of the Lord Pawlet's, where Prince Rupert met him, and gave him an account of the unhappy affairs of the North, and that he had left about two thousand horse under the command of Sir Marmaduke Langdale; which he might as well have brought with him, and then the King would have had a glorious end of his western expedition. Prince Rupert presently returned to Bristol, with orders, as soon as was possible, to march with those northern
horse

horse under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and two thousand foot, which were in Wales, under Colonel Ch. Gerrard, into Gloucestershire; by which the enemy might be obliged to divide their force, which if they should keep united, the Prince from thence would be able to join with the King: but these orders were not executed in time. The King's army at this time consisted in the whole but of five thousand five hundred foot, and about four thousand horse; and Waller was already come with his horse to Blanford; but some of his troops being beaten up by those of the King's, he retired to Shaftsbury, and those parts of Wiltshire adjacent. It concerned the King very much, before he left those parts to relieve Portland-castle, which had been now besieged from the time of the Earl of Essex's march that way. To that purpose, he marched to Sherborne; where he stayed six days too long, though in that time he raised the siege before Portland-castle, if he had not hoped by the delay that his nephew Prince Rupert would have been well advanced in his march. Sir Lewis Dives was left with his own regiment of one hundred and fifty old soldiers, and some horse in Sherborne-castle, and made commander in chief of Dorsetshire; in hope that he would be able shortly by his activity, and the very good affection of that county, to raise men enough to recover Weymouth: and he did perform all that could be reasonably expected from him. His Majesty had a great desire, in his march to Oxford, to relieve Donnington-castle, and Basing; which was again besieged by almost the whole army of the enemy; and then to send a good party to relieve Banbury, which had been close besieged by Colonel John Fiennes, another son of the Lord Say, with all the forces of Northamptonshire, Warwick, and Coventry;

Leicester; and bravely defended by Sir William Comp-ton, full three months; but by this time reduced to the utmost extremity.

In order to preserve all this, the King came to Salisbury upon the fifteenth of October; where he understood, "that Waller lay at Andover with his troops; that Manchester was advanced as far as Reading with five thousand horse and foot, and four and twenty pieces of ordnance; and that four regiments of the Trained Bands of London were beginning their march to him; and that three thousand of the horse and foot of the Earl of Essex's army were near Portsmouth, expecting orders to join with the rest." This might very well have disposed his Majesty to have hastened his march to Oxford, which would have made a fair conclusion of the campaign; and this was the more reasonable, because here the King received letters from Prince Rupert, in which he declared, "that it was not possible for him to bring up his troops so soon as his Majesty expected;" and indeed as his present condition required: and if this had been resolved, both Donnington-castle and Banbury might have been seasonably set at liberty; but a great gaiety possessed Goring, that he earnestly advised the King to march, with secrecy and expedition, to beat Waller; who lay at Andover, a good distance from the rest, with three thousand horse and dragoons; which the King, upon the unanimous consent of the council, consented to.

He had left all the cannon that he had taken from Essex, in Exeter; and now he sent all his great cannon to a garrison he had within two miles of Salisbury at Langford, a house of the Lord Gorges; where was a garrison of one hundred men, commanded by a good officer. The rest of the cannon and carriages were

left at Wilton, the house of the Earl of Pembroke, with a regiment of foot to guard them; and the King appointed the rendezvous for the army to be the next morning, by seven of the clock, near Clarendon-park, and good guards were set at all the avenues of the city to keep all people from going out, that Waller might not have any notice of his purpose: and if the hour of the rendezvous had been observed, as it rarely was (though his Majesty was himself the most punctual, and never absent at the precise time), that design had succeeded to wish. For though the foot under Prince Maurice came not up till eleven of the clock, so that the army did not begin its march till twelve, yet they came within four miles of Andover, before Waller had any notice of their motions; when he drew out his whole body towards them, as if he meant to fight; but upon view of their strength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the town; leaving a strong party of horse and dragoons to make good his retreat. But the King's van charged and routed them with good execution, and pursued them through the town, and slew many of them in the rear, until the darkness of the night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again, and the King quartered that night at Andover. The scattering this great body under Waller in this manner, and the little resistance they made, so raised the spirits of the King's army, that they desired nothing more than to have a battle with the whole army of the enemy; which the King meant not to seek out, nor to decline fighting with them, if they put themselves in his way. And so he resolved to raise the siege of Donnington-castle, which was little out of his way to Oxford. To that purpose,

purpose, he sent orders for the cannon which had been left at Langford and Wilton, to make all haste to a place appointed between Andover and Newbury; where he stayed with his army till they came up to him; and then marched together to Newbury, within a mile of Donnington.

The blockade of Donnington-castle had been (when Middleton from thence pursued his march into the West) left to the care of Colonel Horton; who for some time was contented to block it up; but then finding his summons neglected, and that they had store of provisions within, and having an addition of forces from Abingdon and Reading, he resolved to besiege it; which he begun to do the 29th of September; and made his approaches, and raised a battery on the foot of the hill next Newbury, and plied it so with his great cannon, that, after twelve days continual shooting, he beat down three towers and a part of the wall; which he believed had so humbled the Governor and the garrison, that they would be no longer so stubborn as they had been and therefore he sent them another summons, in which he magnified his own clemency, "that prevailed with him, now they were even at his mercy, to offer them quarter for their lives, if they gave up the castle before Wednesday at ten of the clock in the morning: and if that his favour was not accepted, he declared, in the presence of God, that there should no man among them have his life spared." The Governor, who was himself merry with his high and threatening words, and sent him word, "he would keep till he would neither give nor receive quarter." The Earl of Manchester himself with much more Newbury; and receiving no better summons, than Horton had done, he formed it the next day. But his army

formed of the resolution of those within, declined the hot service; and plied it with their artillery until the next night; and then removed their battery to the other side of the castle; and begun their approaches by sap: when the Governor made a strong sally, and beat them out of their trenches, and killed a lieutenant colonel who commanded in chief, with many soldiers; shot the chief cannoneer through the head, brought away the cannon-baskets, and many arms, and retired with very little loss: yet the next night they finished their battery; and continued some days their great shot, till they heard of the approach of the King's army; whereupon they drew off their ordnance, and their Trained Bands of London being not yet come to them, the Earl thought fit to march away to a greater distance; there having been, in nineteen days, above one thousand great shot spent upon the walls, without any other damage to the garrison, than the beating down some old parts thereof.

When the King came to Newbury, the Governor of Donnington attended him, and was knighted for his very good behaviour; and there was then so little apprehension of dread of the enemy, that his Majesty thought not of prosecuting his journey towards Oxford, before he should relieve both Basing and Banbury. And now importunities being sent from the last, which was even upon the point of rendering for want of victuals, they having already eaten most of their horses, his Majesty was well content that the Earl of Northampton, who had the supreme government of that garrison, where he had left his brave brother his lieutenant, should, with three regiments of horse, attempt the relieving it; letters being sent to Oxford, "that Colonel Gage, with some horse and foot " from thence, should meet him;" which they did punctually; and came time enough to Banbury before they were

Banbury-
castle re-
lieved by
the Earl of
Northamp-
ton.

were expected : yet they found the rebels' horse (superior in number by much to theirs) drawn up in five bodies on the south side of the town, near their sconce ; as if, upon the advantage of that ground, they meant to fight. But two or three shots, made at them by a couple of drakes brought from Oxford by Colonel Gage, made them stagger, and retire from their ground very disorderly. Their cannon and baggage had been sent out of the town the night before ; and their foot, being above seven hundred, run out of Banbury upon the first advance of the King's troops. Colonel Gage with the foot went directly to the castle, that they might be at liberty ; whilst the Earl of Northampton followed the horse so closely, that they found it best to make a stand ; where he furiously charged and routed them ; and, notwithstanding they had lined some hedges with musqueteers, pursued them till they were scattered, and totally dispersed ; their General, young Fiennes, continuing his flight, till he came to Coventry, without staying. The foot, for the most part, by dispersing themselves, escaped by the inclosures, before Colonel Gage could come up. But there were taken, in the chase, one field-piece, and three waggons of arms and ammunition ; many slain ; and two officers of horse, with near one hundred other prisoners, four cornets of horse, and two hundred horses, were taken ; and all this with the loss of one captain and nine troopers ; some officers, and others, being wounded, but not mortally. Thus the siege was raised from Banbury ; which had continued full thirteen weeks ; so notably defended, that though they had but two horses left uneaten, they had never suffered a summons to be sent them ; and it was now relieved the very day of the month upon which both town and castle had been rendered to the King two years before ; being the 26th of October.

Though the relief of Banbury succeeded to wish, yet the King paid dear for it soon after: the very day after that service was performed, Colonel Urry, a Scotchman, who had formerly served the Parliament, and is well mentioned, in the transactions of the last year, for having quitted them, and performed some signal service to the King, had in the West, about the time the King entered into Cornwall, (in a discontented humour, which was very natural to him), desired a pass to go beyond the seas; and so quitted the service: but, instead of embarking himself, made haste to London; and put himself now into the Earl of Manchester's army, and made a discovery of all he knew of the King's army, and a description of the persons and customs of those who principally commanded; so that as they well knew the constitution and weakness of the King's army, they had also advertisement of the Earl of Northampton's being gone, with three regiments of horse, to the relief of Banbury. Whereupon, within two days after, all those forces which had been under Essex and Waller, being united with Manchester, (with whom likewise the Trained Bands of London were now joined; all which made up a body of above eight thousand foot; the number of their horse being not inferior), advanced towards the King, who had not half the number before the departure of the Earl of Northampton, and stayed still at Newbury with a resolution to expect the return of that Earl, that he might likewise do somewhat for Basing; not believing that the enemy could be so soon united.

The second
battle of
Newbury.

It was now too late to hope to make a safe retreat to Oxford, when the whole body of the enemy's army, which had received positive orders to fight the King as soon as was possible, appeared as near as Thackham;

so

that his Majesty, not at all dismayed, resolved to stand upon the defensive only; hoping that, upon the advantage he had of the town of Newbury and the river, the enemy would not speedily advance; and that in the mean time, by being compelled to lodge in the field, which grew now to be very cold, whilst his army was under cover, they might be forced to retire. The King quartered in the town of Newbury; and placed strong guards on the south of the town: but the greatest part of the army was placed towards the enemy's quarters, in a good house belonging to Mr. Doleman at Shaw, and in a village near it, defended by the river that runs under Donnington-castle, and in a house between that village and Newbury, about which a work was cast up, and at a mill upon the river of Kennet; all which lay almost east from the town. Directly north from thence were two open fields, where most of the horse stood with the train of artillery, and about half a mile west was the village of Speen; and beyond it a small heath. In this village lay all Prince Maurice's foot, and some horse, and at the entrance of the heath a work was cast up, which cleared the heath. In this posture they had many skirmishes with the enemy for two days, without losing any ground; and the enemy was still beaten off with loss.

On Sunday morning, the seven and twentieth of October, by the break of day, one thousand of the Earl of Manchester's army, with the Trained Bands of London, came down the hill; and passed the river that way by Shaw; and, undiscovered, forced that guard which should have kept the pass near the house; that was entrenched where Sir Bernard Astley lay; who instantly, with a good body of musqueteers, fell upon the enemy; and not only routed them, but ~~completely~~

them to rout two other bodies of their own men, who were coming to second them. In this pursuit very many of the enemy were slain, and many drowned in the river, and above two hundred arms taken. There continued, all that day, very warm skirmishes in several parts; the enemy's army having almost encompassed the King's; and with much more loss to them, than to the King; till, about three of the clock in the afternoon, Waller with his own, and the forces which had been under Essex, fell upon the quarter at Speen, and passed the river; which was not well defended by the officer who was appointed to guard it with horse and foot, very many of them being gone off from their guards, as never imagining that they would, at that time of day, have attempted a quarter that was thought the strongest of all. But having thus got the river, they marched in good order, with very great bodies of foot, winged with horse, towards the heath; from whence the horse which were left there, with too little resistance, retired; being in truth much overpowered, by reason the major part of them, upon confidence of security of the pass, were gone to provide forage for their horse.

By this means the enemy possessed themselves of the ordnance which had been planted there, and of the village of Speen; the foot which were there retired to the hedge next the large field between Speen and Newbury; which they made good: at the same time, the right wing of the enemy's horse advanced under the hill of Speen, with one hundred musqueteers in the van, and came into the open field, where a good body of the King's horse stood, which at first received them in some disorder; but the Queen's regiment of horse, commanded by Sir John Cansfield, charged them with

to much gallantry, that he routed that great body; which then fled; and he had the execution of them near half a mile; wherein most of the musqueteers were slain, and very many of the horse; insomuch that that whole wing rallied not again that night. The King was at that time with the Prince, and many of the lords, and other his servants, in the middle of that field; and could not, by his own presence, restrain those horse, which at the first approach of the enemy were in that disorder, from shamefully giving ground. So that if Sir John Cansfield had not, in that article of time, given them that brisk charge, by which other troops were ready to charge them in the flank, the King himself had been in very great danger.

At the same time, the left wing of the enemy's horse advanced towards the north side of the great field; but, before they got thither, Goring, with the Earl of Cleveland's brigade, charged them so vigorously, that he forced them back in great confusion over a hedge; and following them, was charged by another fresh body, which he defeated likewise, and slew very many of the enemy upon the place; having not only routed and beaten them off their ground, but endured the shot of three bodies of their foot in their pursuit, and in their retreat, with no considerable damage, save that the Earl of Cleveland's horse falling under him, he was taken prisoner; which was an extraordinary loss. Whilst this was doing on that side, twelve hundred horse, and three thousand foot of those under the Earl of Manchester, advanced with great resolution upon Shaw-house, and the field adjacent; which quarter was defended by Sir Jacob Astley and Colonel George Lisle; and the house, by Lieutenant Colonel Page. They came singing of psalms; and, at first, drove forty musqueteers

queteers from a hedge, who were placed there to fire at them; but they were presently charged by Sir John Brown, with the Prince's regiment of horse; who did good execution upon them, till he saw another body of their horse ready to charge him, which made him retire to the foot in Mr. Doleman's garden, which flanks that field, and give fire upon those horse, whereof very many fell; and the horse thereupon wheeling about, Sir John Brown fell upon their rear, killed many, and kept that ground all the day; when the reserve of foot, commanded by Colonel Thelwell, galled their foot with several vollics, and then fell on them with the butt-ends of their musquets, till they had not only beaten them from the hedges, but quite out of the field; leaving two drakes, some colours, and many dead bodies behind them. At this time, a great body of their foot attempted Mr. Doleman's house, but were so well entertained by Lieutenant Colonel Page, that, after they had made their first effort, they were forced to retire in such confusion, that he pursued them from the house with a notable execution, inasmuch that they left five hundred dead upon a little spot of ground; and they drew off the two drakes out of the field to the house, the enemy being beaten off, and retired from all that quarter.

It was now night; for which neither party was sorry; and the King, who had been on that side where the enemy only had prevailed, thought that his army had suffered alike in all other places. He saw they were entirely possessed of Speen, and had taken all the ordnance which had been left there; whereby it would be easy for them, before the next morning, to have compassed him round; towards which they might have gone far, if they had found themselves in a condition to have pursued their fortune.

Here-

Hereupon, as soon as it was night, his Majesty, with the Prince, and those lords who had been about him all the day, and his regiment of guards, retired into the fields under Donnington-castle, and resolved to prosecute the resolution that was taken in the morning, when they saw the great advantage the enemy had in numbers, with which he was like to be encompassed, if his forces were beaten from either of the posts. That resolution was, "to march away in the night towards Wallingford;" and to that purpose, all the carriages and great ordnance had been that morning drawn under Donnington-castle; so he sent orders to all the officers to draw off their men to the same place; and receiving intelligence at that time that Prince Rupert was come, or would be that night at Bath, that he might make no stay there, but presently be able to join with his army, his Majesty himself, with the Prince, and about three hundred horse, made haste thither, and found Prince Rupert there, and thence made what haste they could back towards Oxford. The truth is, the King's army was not in so ill a condition, as the King conceived it to have been: that party which were in the field near Speen, kept their ground very resolutely; and although it was a fair moon-shine night, the enemy, that was very near them, and much superior in number, thought not fit to assault or disturb them. That part of the enemy that had been so roughly treated at Shaw, having received succour of a strong body of horse, resolved once more to make an attempt upon the foot there; but they were beaten off as before; though they stood not well enough to receive an equal loss, but retired to their hill, where they stood still. This was the last action between the armies; for about ten of the clock at night, all the army, horse, foot, and cannon, upon the
King's

King's orders, drew forth their several guards to the heath about Donnington-castle; in which they left most of their wounded men, with all their ordnance, ammunition, and carriages; then Prince Maurice, and the other officers, marched in good order away to Wallingford, committing the bringing up the rear to Humphrey Bennet, (who had behaved himself very signally that day), who, with his brigade of horse, marched behind, and received not the least disturbance from the enemy; who, in so light a night, could not but know of the retreat, and were well enough pleased to be rid of an enemy that had handled them so. By the morning, all the army, foot as well as horse, arrived at Wallingford; where having refreshed a little, they marched to Oxford, without seeing any party of the enemy that looked after them.

Many made a question which party had the best of the day; and neither was well enough satisfied with their success. There could be no question there were very many more killed of the enemy, than of the King's army; whereof were missing only Sir William St. Leger, Lieutenant Colonel to the Duke's regiment of foot; Lieutenant Colonel Topping, and Lieutenant Colonel Leake, both officers of horse, who were all three slain, with not above one hundred common soldiers in all places. The Earl of Brentford, General of the army, was wounded on the head; Sir John Cansfield, Sir John Grenvil, and Lieutenant Colonel Page, were wounded; but all recovered. The officers of the enemy's side were never talked of, being, for the most part, of no better families than the common soldiers. But it was reasonably computed, by those who saw the action in all places, that there could not be so few as one thousand dead upon the place: yet because the

King's

King's army quitted the field, and marched away in the night, the other side thought themselves masters; and the Parliament celebrated their victory with their usual triumphs; though, within few days after, they discerned that they had little reason for it. They came to know, by what accident was not imagined, that the Earl of Brentford remained that night in the castle, by reason of the hurt in his head, and so sent Colonel Urry to him to persuade him to give up the castle, and to make him other large offers; all which the General rejected with the indignation that became him. No more shall be said of the Colonel, because, after all his tergiversations, he chose at last to lose his life for and in the King's service; which ought to expiate for all his transgressions, and preserve his memory from all unkind reflections.

The next day, when they knew that the King's army was retired, and not till then, they made haste to possess themselves of Newbury; and then drew up their whole army before Donnington-castle, and summoned the Governor "to deliver it to them, or else they would not leave one stone upon another." To which the Governor made no other reply, than "that he was not bound to repair it; but however he would, by God's help, keep the ground afterwards." Seeing his obstinacy, they offered him "to march away with the arms, and all things belonging to the garrison;" and, when that moved not, "that he should carry all the cannon and ammunition with him:" to all which he answered, "that he wondered they would not be satisfied with so many answers that he had sent," and desired them "to be assured, that he would not go out of the castle, till the King sent him order so to do." Offended with these high answers, they resolved to assault

fault it; but the officer who commanded the party ing killed, with some few of the soldiers, they remain and never after made any attempt upon it, but remained quietly at Newbury in great faction among themselves, every man taking upon himself to find fault, and censure what had been done, and had been left undone in the whole day's service.

The King met Prince Rupert, as he expected, with Colonel Gerrard, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale; and made all the haste he could to join those forces with his own army, that so he might march back to Newbury and disengage his cannon and carriages. By the way he met the Earl of Northampton, and those regiments which had relieved Banbury; and having, with many tedious expeditions caused a new train of artillery to be formed, he brought his army again to a rendezvous at Bullington Green; where, with the addition of those forces, and some foot, which he drew out of Oxford under the command of Colonel Gage, it appeared to be full six thousand foot, and five thousand horse; with which he marched to Wallingford; and within a day more than a week after he had left Donnington-castle found himself there again in so good a posture, that he resolved not to decline fighting with the enemy; but would be first possessed of his cannon, and put some provision into the castle; which he accomplished without any opposition.

The King
relieves
Donning-
ton-castle.

The enemy's army lay still at Newbury, perplexed with the divisions and factions among their own officers, without any notice of the King's advance, till a quarter of their horse was beaten up. The next morning the King put his army into battalia; Prince Rupert, who was now declared General, led the van, and got possession of the heath, on the back side of the castle;

castle; from which a small party might have kept him, the entrance into it being very steep, and the way narrow. On that heath the King's army was drawn up about noon, every one being prepared to fight; and none of the enemy appearing, they marched by the castle over the river by a mill, and two fords below it, without any opposition, and thence drew into the large field between Speen and Newbury, which was thought a good place to expect the enemy; who, in the mean time, had drawn a great body of their horse and foot into the other field toward Shaw, and had made breastworks and batteries on the back side of Newbury; which town they resolved to keep, and stand upon the defensive, as the King had done before; presuming, that they now having the warmer lodging, might better attack the King after his men had lain a night or two in the fields; it being now the month of November, but fair for that season. Some light skirmishes passed between the horse; but when the King saw upon what disadvantages he must force them to fight, he called his council together, who were unanimous in opinion, "that since he had relieved the castle, and put "sufficient provisions into it, and that it was in his "power to draw off his ordnance and ammunition from "thence, he had done his business; and if any honour "had been lost the other day, it was regained now, by "his having passed his army over the river in the face "of theirs, and offered them battle, which they durst "not accept." Upon which the King resolved to attempt them no farther, but gave orders to retire in their view, with drums beating and trumpets sounding, the same way he came over the river. So the King lay that night at Donnington-castle, and all the army about him.

The

The King had not yet done all he meant to do, before he took up his winter quarters, and was willing that the enemy should have an opportunity to fight with him, if they desired it: and therefore, on the Sunday morning the tenth of November, his Majesty marched with all his cannon and ammunition over the heath from Donnington, over a fair campaign, to Lamborne; in which march, some of the enemy's horse attempted his rear, but were repulsed with loss; many being slain, and some taken prisoners. There the King quartered that night and the next day, to refresh his men for the ill lodging they had endured at Donnington; having sent some persons of great reputation and interest to Marlborough, to make large provisions for him and his army. And then, since he heard the enemy lay still at Newbury, he marched to Marlborough; where he found all things to his wish. His heart was set upon the relief of Basing, which was now again distressed; the enemy having, as is said before, begirt it closely, from the time that Gage had relieved it. He had a great mind to do it with his whole army, that thereby he might draw the enemy to a battle: but, upon full debate, it was concluded, "that the safest way would be to do it by a strong party; that one thousand horse should be drawn out, every one of which should carry before him a bag of corn, or other provisions, and march so as to be at Basing-house the next morning after they parted from the army; and then every trooper was to cast down his bag, and to make their retreat as well as they might:" and Colonel Gage, who had so good success before, was appointed to command this party; which he cheerfully undertook to do. The better to effect it, Hungerford was thought the fitter place to quarter with the army,
and

and from thence to dispatch that party: so his Majesty marched back to Hungerford, which was half way to Newbury: the enemy was in mean time marched from thence to Basing, which they thought would, upon the sight of their whole army, presently have yielded; but finding the Marquis still obstinate to defend it, they were weary of the winter war, and so retired all their force from thence, and quitted the siege the very day before Gage came thither; so that he easily delivered his provisions, and retired to the King without any inconvenience. His Majesty then marched to Farringdon, with some hope to have surprised Abingdon in his way; but he found it too well provided; and so after he had considered where to quarter his horse, which had formerly had their head quarter at Abingdon, and those places which were now under the power of that Governor, he returned to Oxford; where he arrived, to the universal joy, on the three and twentieth of November; a season of the year fit for all the troops to be in their winter quarters.

The King
returns to
Oxford.

The King was exceedingly pleased to find how much the fortifications there had been advanced by the care and diligence of the lords; and was very gracious in his acknowledgment of it to them. And the Governor, Sir Arthur Aston, having, some months before, in the managing his horse in the fields, caused him to fall, had in the fall broken his own leg, and, shortly after, been compelled to cut it off; so that, if he recovered at all, which was very doubtful, he could not be fit for any active service; his Majesty resolved to confer that government upon another. Of which resolution, with all the circumstances of grace and favour, and sending him a warrant for one thousand pounds a year pension for his life, he gave him notice; and then, to the most

general satisfaction of all men, he conferred that government upon Colonel Gage, whom he had before knighted. Sir Arthur Aston was so much displeased with his successor, that he besought the King to confer that charge upon any other person ; and when he found that his Majesty would not change his purpose, he sent to some lords to come to him, who he thought were most zealous in religion, and desired them to tell the King from him, “ that, though he was himself a Roman Catholic, he had been very careful to give no scandal to his Majesty’s Protestant subjects ; and “ could not but inform him, that Gage was the most Jesuited Papist alive ; that he had a Jesuit who lived “ with him ; and that he was present at all the sermons “ among the Catholics ; which he believed would be “ very much to his Majesty’s disservice.” So much his passion and animosity over-ruled his conscience.

The King liked the choice he had made ; and only advised the new Governor, by one of his friends, “ to “ have so much discretion in his carriage, that there “ might be no notice taken of the exercise of his religion :” to which animadversion he answered, “ that “ he never had dissembled his religion, nor ever would ; “ but that he had been so wary in the exercise of it, “ that he knew there could be no witness produced, “ who had ever seen him at mass in Oxford, though “ he heard mass every day ; and that he had never “ been but once at a sermon, which was at the lodging “ of Sir Arthur’s daughter, to which he had been invited with great importunity, and believed now that “ it was to entrap him.” But the poor gentleman enjoyed the office very little time ; for within a month, or thereabout, making an attempt to break down Culhambridge near Abingdon, where he intended to erect a
royal

royal fort, that should have kept that garrison from that side of the country, he was shot through the heart with a musquet bullet: Prince Rupert was present at the action, having approved, and been much pleased with the design, which was never pursued after his death: and in truth the King sustained a wonderful loss in his death; he being a man of great wisdom and temper, and one among the very few soldiers, who made himself to be universally loved and esteemed.

Though the King's condition was now much better, than, in the beginning of the summer, he had reason to expect, (he had broken and defeated two armies of the Parliament, and returned into his winter quarter with advantage, and rather with an increase than diminution of his forces), yet his necessities were still the same, and the fountains dried up from whence he might expect relief; his quarters shortened and lessened by the loss of the whole North: for after the battle of York, the Scots returned to reduce Newcastle, which they had already done, and all other garrisons which had held out for the King; and when that work should be thoroughly and sufficiently done, it must be expected that army should again move southward, and take such other places, as the Parliament should not be at leisure to look after themselves.

The King's army was less united than ever; the old General was set aside, and Prince Rupert put into the command, which was no popular change: for the other was known to be an officer of great experience, and had committed no oversights in his conduct; was willing to hear every thing debated, and always concurred with the most reasonable opinion; and though he was not of many words, and was not quick in hearing, yet upon any action he was sprightly, and commanded well. The

The temper
of the army
and court
at this
time.

Prince was rough, and passionate, and loved not debate; liked what was proposed, as he liked the persons who proposed it; and was so great an enemy to Digby and Colepepper, who were only present in debates of the war with the officers, that he crossed all they proposed. The truth is, all the army had been disposed, from the first raising it, to a neglect and contempt of the council; and the King himself had not been solicitous enough to preserve the respect due to it; in which he lessened his own dignity.

Goring, who was now General of the horse, was no more gracious to Prince Rupert, than Wilmot had been; had all the other's faults, and wanted his regularity, and preserving his respect with the officers. Wilmot loved debauchery, but shut it out from his business; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried in it. Goring had a much better understanding, and a sharper wit, (except in the very exercise of debauchery, and then the other was inspired), a much keener courage, and presentness of mind in danger: Wilmot discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented, or warily declined it; and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy: Goring was not able to resist the temptation, when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory; as, in one of those fits, he had suffered the horse to escape out of Cornwall; and the most signal misfortunes of his life in war had their rise from that uncontrollable licence. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour or integrity; but Wilmot violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself; Goring without scruple, out of humour, or for wit's sake; and loved no
man

man so well, but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to public mirth for having been cozened: therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company; for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented; and both unrestrained, by any respect to good nature or justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof: yet Wilmot had more scruples from religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness: Goring could have passed through those pleasantly, and would, without hesitation, have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery, to have satisfied an ordinary passion or appetite; and, in truth, wanted nothing but industry (for he had wit, and courage, and understanding, and ambition, uncontrolled by any fear of God or man) to have been as eminent and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any man in the age he lived in, or before. Of all his qualifications, dissimulation was his master-piece; in which he so much excelled, that men were not ordinarily ashamed, or out of countenance, with being deceived but twice by him.

The court was not much better disposed than the army; they who had no preferment were angry with those who had, and thought they had not deserved so well as themselves: they who were envied, found no satisfaction or delight in what they were envied for, being poor and necessitous, and the more sensible of their being so, by the titles they had received upon their own violent importunity. So that the King was without any joy in the favours he had conferred, and yet was not the less solicited to grant more to others of the same kind, who, he foresaw, would be no better pleased

than the rest : and the pleasing one man this way, displeased one hundred ; as his creating the Lord Colepepper at this time, and making him a baron, (who, in truth, had served him with great abilities ; and, though he did imprudently in desiring it, did deserve it), did much dissatisfy both the court and the army ; to neither of which he was in any degree gracious, by his having no ornament of education, to make men the more propitious to his parts of nature ; and disposed many others to be very importunate to receive the same obligation.

There had been another counsel entered upon, and concluded with great deliberation and wisdom, which turned at this time to his Majesty's disadvantage ; which was the cessation in Ireland ; entered into, as hath been said before, with all the reason imaginable, and in hope to have made a good peace there, and so to have had the power of that united kingdom, to have assisted to the suppressing the rebellion in this. But now, as all the supplies he had received from thence upon the cessation had been already destroyed, without any benefit to the King, so his Majesty found, that he should not be able to make a peace there ; and then the government there would be in the worse condition, by being deprived of so many good officers and soldiers upon the conclusion of the cessation. There had been commissioners from that time sent over to the King from the confederate Roman Catholics, to treat a peace ; the Lord Lieutenant and Council had sent likewise commissioners to inform the King of all things necessary to be considered in the treaty ; and the Parliament which was then sitting in Ireland had sent likewise commissioners, in the name of the Protestants in that kingdom, to prevent the making any peace ; and with

with a petition to dissolve the cessation that had been made.

The commissioners from the confederate Roman Catholics demanded "the abrogation and repeal of all those laws, which were in force against the exercise of the Roman religion: that the Lieutenant, or chief Governor, should be a Roman Catholic; and that there should be no distinction made, whereby those of that religion should not be capable of any preferment in the kingdom, as well as the Protestants;" together with the repeal of several laws, which that nation thought to have been made in their prejudice.

The commissioners from the state (whereof some were of the Privy Council) professed, "that they desired a peace might be made;" but proposed, in order, as they said, to the security of the kingdom, "that all the Irish might be disarmed; and such among them as had been most signal and barbarous in the massacres in the beginning of the rebellion, might be excepted from pardon, and prosecuted with the utmost rigour of law: that the laws might be put in execution against all Roman Catholics, and especially against all Jesuits, Priests, and Friars; and that they might be obliged to pay all the damages which had been sustained by the war."

The commissioners from the Protestants demanded, "that the cessation might be dissolved, and the war carried on with the utmost rigour, according to the Act of Parliament that had been made in the beginning of the rebellion, and that no peace might be made on any conditions."

The King demanded of the Irish, "whether they believed it could be in his power, if it were agreeable to his conscience, to grant them their demands? and

“ whether he must not thereby purchase Ireland with
 “ the loss of England and Scotland ? ” There were
 among them some sober men, who confessed, “ that, as
 “ his Majesty’s affairs then stood, they believed he
 “ could not grant it ; and they hoped, that their general
 “ assembly would, when they should be informed
 “ of the truth of his Majesty’s condition, which was
 “ not known to them, be persuaded to depart from
 “ some of their demands ; but that, for the present,
 “ they had not authority to recede from any one proposition.”

The King then asked the commissioners who had been sent over by the Marquis of Ormond, Lieutenant of the kingdom, “ which forces they thought to be the
 “ stronger, the King’s army, or that of the rebels ? ” They confessed “ the rebels to be much superior in
 “ power, and that they were possessed of more than
 “ three parts of the kingdom.” The King then asked them, “ whether they thought it probable, now they
 “ found themselves to be the stronger, that the rebels
 “ would be persuaded to yield to so disadvantageous
 “ terms, as they proposed, and to be so wholly at the
 “ mercy of those whom they had so much provoked ? ”
 “ and if they could be so disposed, whether they believed
 “ that they were able, though they should be willing,
 “ to sell all they have in Ireland, to pay the damages
 “ which had been sustained by the war ? ” The commissioners acknowledged, “ that they thought the last impossible,
 “ and that there might be a mitigation in that particular ; but for the former, they durst not advise
 “ his Majesty to recede at all ; for that there could be
 “ no other security for the Protestants in that kingdom,
 “ but by leaving the Irish without any capacity or ability to trouble them : for their perfidiousness was
 “ such,

“such, that they could not be trusted; and therefore
 “they must be put into such a condition, by being to-
 “tally disarmed, that they should not be able to do
 “any mischief; or that all the Protestants must leave
 “the kingdom to the entire possession of the Irish;
 “and whether that would be for his Majesty’s service
 “and security, they must refer to his own wisdom.”

The King then sent for the commissioners from the
 Parliament, on the behalf of the Protestants, and asked
 them, “whether they were ready, if the cessation were
 “expired, to renew the war, and to prosecute it hope-
 “fully, to the reduction or suppression of the Irish?”
 They answered very clearly, “that, in the state they
 “were in, they could not carry on the war, or defend
 “themselves against the Irish, who were much superior
 “to them in power; but if his Majesty would recruit
 “his army, and send over money, and arms, and am-
 “munition, with shipping, they made no doubt, but,
 “with God’s blessing, they should be able shortly to
 “reduce them, and drive them out of the kingdom.”
 The King then asked them, “whether they did in
 “truth think, that his Majesty was able to send them
 “such supplies as they stood in need of? or whether
 “they did not, in their consciences, know, that he was
 “not able to send them any part of it, and stood in
 “want of all for his own support?” They answered,
 “that they hoped he would make a peace with the
 “Parliament, and would then be able to send over
 “such assistance to Ireland, as would quickly settle
 “that kingdom.”

But, after all these discourses, his Majesty prevailed
 not with any of them to depart from the most unreasona-
 ble of all their demands; whereupon he dismissed them,
 and told the Irish, “it had been in their power so far
 “to

“to have obliged him, that he might hereafter have
 “thought himself bound to have gratified them :
 “some particulars, which were not now seasonable :
 “have been done ; but they would repent this their
 “senseless perverseness, when it would be too late, and
 “when they found themselves under a power that
 “would destroy them, and make them cease to be
 “a nation.”

So they all left Oxford ; and his Majesty, notwithstanding all this resolution not to depart from any thing that might in any degree be prejudicial to the Protestant interest in that kingdom, found that he suffered under no reproach more in England, than by having made that cessation : so wonderfully unreasonable was the generality of the nation then, by the absurd imputation of his Majesty’s favouring the Irish.

The straits in which the King now was, brought him to some reflections he had never made before ; and the considerations of what might probably be the event of the next summer, disposed him to inclinations which were very contrary to what he had ever before entertained. His three younger children were taken from the governess in whose hands he had put them, and were not only in the Parliament quarters, but expressly by their order put into the custody of one in whom the King could have the less confidence, because it was one in whom the Parliament confided so much. He had with him the Prince and the Duke of York, both young ; and he had no resolution more fixed in him, than that the Prince should never be absent from him ; which, as hath been touched before, made him less consider what governor or servants he put about him ; resolving to form his manners by his own model. But now he began to say, “that himself and the Prince
 “were

were too much to venture in one bottom; and that it was now time to unboy him, by putting him into some action and acquaintance with business, out of his own sight:" but communicated these thoughts only with the Lord Digby, the Lord Colepepper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and was thought to confer more with the Lord Colepepper upon the subject, than with either of the other; but had some particular thoughts upon which he then conferred with nobody. There was but one province in which the Prince could confide, after he was severed from the King; and that was the West; which was yet in a worse condition than it had been, by the rebels being possessed of Taunton, one of the chief towns in Somersetshire; and though it was an open and unfortified place, it was very strong against the King in the natural disaffection of the inhabitants, which were very numerous, and all the places adjacent of the same ill principles; and Waller had already sent some troops thither to confirm them in their rebellious inclinations, and had himself a resolution speedily to go thither, with a body sufficient to form an army for the reduction of the West: nor was the design improbable to succeed; for the reputation of the Scotch army, upon the recovery of all the North, had shaken and terrified all the kingdom; and the King's army was the last enemy the West had been acquainted with, and had left no good name behind it.

To prevent this mischief, Goring (who had now made a fast friendship with the Lord Digby, either of them believing he could deceive the other, and so with equal passion embracing the engagement) was sent with some troops to Salisbury, from whence he might easily prevent any motion of Waller; without which, Taunton would be in a short time reduced by the garrison

A council
settled for
the Prince
of Wales.

the King had in the country; so that this alteration rather confirmed than diverted his Majesty, in his thoughts of sending the Prince thither: and he began to publish his purpose, and named counsellors to consult with his Highness, by whose advice all things should be done; his Majesty's purpose being, in truth, only that at that time that the Prince should go no farther west than Bristol; and that there might be no jealousies arising from this action, (which every body knew was so far from the King's former purpose; and it might be imagined, that his Highness would be sent to the Queen his mother into France, which many unreasonably apprehended), the King declared what council he intended should be about his son; the reputation of whom, he thought, would allay all jealousies of the kind. He named the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, the Lord Capel, the Lord Hopton, the Lord Colepepper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and appointed them "to meet frequently at the Prince's lodging, to consider with his Highness what preparations should be made for his journey, and in what manner his family should be established." There was one person more, who of necessity was to wait on the Prince, the Earl of Berkshire, his governor; and then his Majesty found, what wrong measures he had taken in the conferring that trust, and lamented his own error to those he trusted, but knew not how to prevent the inconveniences that might ensue, unless by applying two remedies, which were not natural, and might have been productive of as great inconveniences. The one was, to lessen the Prince's reverence and esteem for his governor; which was very sufficiently provided for. The other, to leave the governor without any more authority, than every one of the council had; and so much

much less; as the Prince had a better esteem of every one of them, than he had of him: and so left him without a governor, which would have been a little better, if he had been without the Earl of Berkshire too.

When the King was in this melancholic posture, it was a great refreshment, and some advantage to him, to hear, that the disorder the Parliament was in was superior to his. The cause of all the distractions in his court or army proceeded from the extreme poverty and necessity his Majesty was in; and a very moderate supply of money would, in a moment, have extinguished all those distempers. But all the wealth of the kingdom, for they were well nigh possessed of all, could not prevent the same, and greater distractions and emulations, from breaking into the whole government of the Parliament: for all the personal animosities imaginable broke out in their councils, and in their armies; and the House of Peers found themselves, upon the matter, excluded from all power or credit, when they did not concur in all the demands which were made by the Commons.

Divisions
amongst
those at
Westmin-
ster.

That violent party, which had at first cozened the rest into the war, and afterwards obstructed all the approaches towards peace, found now that they had finished as much of their work, as the tools which they had wrought with could be applied to; and what remained to be done, must be dispatched by new workmen. They had been long unsatisfied with the Earl of Essex, and he as much with them; both being more solicitous to suppress the other, than to destroy the King. They bore the loss and dishonour he had sustained in Cornwall very well; and would have been glad, that both he and his army had been quite cut off, instead of being dissolved; for most of his officers and
sol-

soldiers were corrupted in their affections towards the and desired nothing but peace: so that they refused never more to trust or employ any of them. But that which troubled them more, was, that their beloved Earl of Manchester, upon whom they depended as a fast friend by whom they might insensibly have divested the Earl of Essex of all inconvenient authority in the army, appeared now as unapplicable to their purposes as the other; and there was a breach fallen out between him and Oliver Cromwell, which was irreconcilable, and had brought some counsels upon the stage, before they were ripe.

Cromwell accused the Earl of Manchester “ of having betrayed the Parliament out of cowardice; that he might, at the King’s last being at Newbury, when he drew off his cannon, very easily have defeated his whole army, if he would have permitted it to have been engaged: that he went to him, and shewed him evidently how it might be done; and desired him that he would give him leave, with his own brigade of horse, to charge the King’s army in their retreat; and the Earl, with the rest of his army, might look on, and do as he should think fit: but that the Earl had, notwithstanding all importunity used by him and other officers, positively and obstinately refused to permit him; giving no other reason, but that, he said, if they did engage, and overthrow the King’s army; the King would always have another army to keep up the war; but if that army which he commanded should be overthrown, before the other under the Earl of Essex should be reinforced, there would be an end of their pretences; and they should be all rebels and traitors, and executed and forfeited by the law.”

This

This pronounciation what the law would do against them was very heavily taken by the Parliament, as the Earl believed the law to be against them, after many declarations made by them, "that the law was on their side, and that the King's arms were taken up against the law." The Earl confessed "he had used words to that effect, that they should be treated as traitors, if their army was defeated, when he did not approve the advice that was given by the Lieutenant General; which would have exposed the army to greater hazard, than he thought seasonable in that conjuncture, in the middle of the winter, to expose it to." He then recriminated Cromwell, "that, at another time, Cromwell discoursing freely with him of the state of the kingdom, and proposing somewhat to be done," the Earl had answered, "that the Parliament would never approve it:" to which Cromwell presently replied, "My Lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself in the head of an army, that shall give the law to King and Parliament: which discourse, he said, made great impression in him; for he knew the Lieutenant General to be a man of very deep designs; and therefore he was the more careful to preserve an army, which he yet thought was very faithful to the Parliament."

This discourse startled those who had always an aversion to Cromwell, and had observed the fierceness of his nature, and the language he commonly used when there was any mention of peace; so that they desired that this matter might be thoroughly examined, and brought to judgment. But the other side put all obstructions in the way, and rather chose to lose the advantage they had against the Earl of Manchester, than to have the other matter examined; which would unavoidably

voidably have made some discoveries they were not ready to produce. However the animosities increased and the parties appeared barefaced against each other which augmented the distractions, and divided them as well as the Parliament; and new opinions started in religion, which made more subdivisions; and terms and distinctions were brought into discourse; Fanatics were now first brought into appellation: what kind of confusions exceedingly disposed men of any sober understanding to wish for peace; though none knew how to bring the mention of it into the Parliament.

The Scottish commissioners were as jealous and as dissatisfied as any other party; and found, since the battle of York, neither their army nor themselves so much considered as before, nor conditions performed towards them with any punctuality. They had long had jealousy of Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane, and all the party; which they saw increased every day, and grew powerful in the Parliament, in the council, and in the city. Their sacred vow and covenant was mentioned with less reverence and respect, and the Independents, which comprehended many sects in religion, spake publicly against it; of which party Cromwell and Vane were the leaders, with very many of their clergymen, who were the most popular preachers, and in the Assembly of Divines had great authority: so that the Scots plainly perceived, that though they had gone as far towards the destruction of the Church of England as they desired, they should never be able to establish their Presbyterian government; without which they should lose all their credit in their own country, and all their interest in England. They discerned likewise, that there was a purpose, if that party prevailed, to change the whole frame of the government, as well
civil

vil as ecclesiastical, and to reduce the monarchy to a public; which was as far from the end and purpose of that nation, as to restore episcopacy. So that they saw no way to prevent the mischief and confusion that would fall out, but by a peace; which they begun heartily to wish, and to conspire with those of that party which most desired to bring it to pass; but how to set a treaty on foot, they knew not.

The House of Peers, three or four men excepted, wished it, but had no power to compass it. In the House of Commons, there were enough who would have been very glad of it, but had not the courage to propose it. They who had an inward aversion from it, and were resolved to prevent it by all possible means, wrought upon many of the other to believe, "that they would accept of a proposition for a treaty, if the King desired it; but that it would be dishonourable, and of very pernicious consequence to the nation, if the Parliament first proposed it." So that it seemed evident, that if any of the party which did in truth desire peace, should propose it to the Parliament, it would be rejected; and rejected upon the point is known, by many of those who in their hearts ~~preferred it~~.

They tried their old friends of ~~the court~~ who had served their turns so often, and set ~~them~~ to get hands to a petition, by which ~~the Parliament should~~ be moved "to send to the King in quest of peace." But that design was no sooner known, ~~the~~ ~~opposite~~ party were appointed ~~to~~ ~~it~~ ~~a~~ ~~committee~~ ~~settled~~ on foot, by which they ~~showed~~ ~~the~~ ~~opposite~~ ~~party~~ ~~that~~ "to, or approbation of, ~~the~~ ~~peace~~ ~~which~~ ~~they~~ ~~did~~ ~~not~~ ~~desire~~ ~~peace~~ ~~is~~ ~~not~~ ~~in~~ ~~their~~ ~~power~~ ~~hours~~," (nobody was ~~to~~ ~~be~~ ~~heard~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~parliament~~ ~~and~~ ~~it~~ ~~profess~~ ~~against~~ ~~peace~~).

“furne to move the Parliament in it, because
 “knew, their wisdom knew best the way to obtain
 “and would do what was necessary and fit towards
 “to which they wholly left it.”

This petition found more countenance among
 magistrates, the mayor, and aldermen; Sir Henry V.
 having diligently provided, that men of his own prin-
 ciples and inclinations should be brought into the
 government of the city; of which he saw they should
 ways have great need, even in order to keep the Par-
 liament well disposed. So that they who did in truth
 fire any reasonable peace, found the way to it so di-
 cult, and that it was impossible to prevail with the
 Houses to propose it to the King, that they resolved
 “it could only rise from his Majesty; and to this
 “purpose they should all labour with their several
 “friends at Oxford, to incline the King to send a me-
 “sage to the Parliament, to offer a treaty of peace
 “any place where they should appoint; and then the
 “would all run the utmost hazard before it should
 “be rejected.”

The Independent party, (for under that style and ap-
 pellation they now acted, and owned themselves), who
 feared and abhorred all motions towards peace, were
 as great straits as the other, how to carry on their de-
 signs. They were resolved to have no more to do with
 either of their generals, but how to lay them aside was
 the difficulty; especially the Earl of Essex, who had
 been so entirely their founder, that they owed not more
 to the power and reputation of Parliament, than to his
 sole name and credit: the being able to raise an army
 and conducting it to fight against the King, was purely
 due to him, and the effect of his power. And now to
 put such an affront upon him, and to think of another
 general,

general, must appear the highest ingratitude, and might provoke the army itself, where he was still exceedingly beloved; and to continue him in that trust, was to betray their own designs, and to render them impracticable. Therefore, till they could find some expedient to explicate and disentangle themselves out of this labyrinth, they made no advance towards the recruiting or supplying their armies, nor to provide for any winter expedition; only they sent Waller out, with such troops towards the West, as they cared not for, and resolved to use their service no more.

They knew not how to propose the great alterations, they intended, to the Parliament; and of all men, the Scotch commissioners were not to be trusted. In the end, they resolved to pursue the method in which they had been hitherto so successful, and to prepare and ripen things in the Church, that they might afterwards in due time grow to maturity in the Parliament. They agreed therefore in the Houses, (and in those combinations they were always unanimous), "that they would have a solemn fast-day, in which they would seek God," (which was the new phrase they brought from Scotland with their Covenant), "and desire his assistance, to lead them out of the perplexities they were in:" and they did as readily agree in the nomination of the preachers who were to perform that exercise, and who were more trusted in the deepest designs, than most of those who named them were: for there was now a schism among their clergy, as well as the laity, and the Independents were the bolder and more political men.

When the fast-day came, (which was observed for eight or ten hours together in the churches), the preachers prayed "the Parliament might be inspired

" with those thoughts, as might contribute to the
 " honour and reputation; and that they might prefer
 " that opinion the nation had of their honesty and
 " integrity, and be without any selfish ends, or seeking
 " their own benefit and advantage." After this preparation by their prayers, the preachers, let their texts
 what they would, told them very plainly, " that it was
 " no wonder there was such division among them
 " their counsels, when there was no union in their hearts
 " that the Parliament lay under many reproaches, not
 " only among their enemies, but with their best friends
 " who were the more out of countenance, because they
 " found that the aspersions and imputations which their
 " enemies had laid upon them were so well grounded
 " that they could not wipe them off: that there was
 " great pride, as great ambition, as many private ends
 " and as little zeal and affection for the public, as they
 " had ever imputed to the Court: that, whilst they pretended,
 " at the public cost, and out of the purses of the
 " poor people, to make a general reformation, the
 " chief care was to grow great and rich themselves
 " and that both the city and kingdom took notice, with
 " great anxiety of mind, that all the offices of the army
 " and all the profitable offices of the kingdom, were in
 " the hands of the members of the two Houses of Parliament;
 " who, whilst the nation grew poor, as it must
 " needs do under such insupportable taxes, grew very
 " rich; and would, in a short time, get all the money out of
 " the kingdom into their hands; and that it could not
 " reasonably be expected, that such men, who got so
 " much, and enriched themselves to that degree, by the
 " continuance of the war, would heartily pursue those
 " ways which would put an end to it; the end whereof
 " must put an end to their exorbitant profit." When
 they

they had exaggerated these reproaches as pathetically as they could, and the sense the people generally had of the corruption of it, even to a despair of ever seeing an end of the calamities they sustained, or having any prospect of that reformation in Church and State, which they had so often and so solemnly promised to effect, they fell again to their prayers, "that God would take his own work into his hand; and if the instruments he had already employed were not worthy to bring so glorious a design to a conclusion, that he would inspire others more fit, who might perfect what was begun, and bring the trouble of the nation to a godly period."

When the two Houses met together, the next day after these devout animadversions, there was another spirit appeared in the looks of many of them. Sir Henry Vane told them, "if ever God had appeared to them, it was in the exercise of yesterday; and that it appeared, it proceeded from God, because (as he was credibly informed by many, who had been auditors in other congregations) the same lamentations and discourses had been made in all other churches, as the godly preachers had made before them; which could therefore proceed only from the immediate Spirit of God." He repeated some things which had been said, upon which he was best prepared to enlarge; and besought them "to remember their obligations to God, and to their country; and that they would free themselves from those just reproaches; which they could do no otherwise, than by divesting themselves of all offices and charges, that might bring in the least advantage and profit to themselves; by which only they could make it appear, that they were public-hearted men; and as they paid all taxes and impositions with the rest of the nation, so they gave up all their

After a fast-day, Vane and Cromwell proposed a self-denying ordinance.

“time to their country’s service, without any reward :
“gratuity.”

He told them, “that the reflections of yesterday, ne-
“of which had ever entered upon his spirit before, in
“raised another reflection in him than had been me-
“tioned ; which was, that it had been often taken a-
“tice of, and objected by the King himself, that :
“numbers of the members of Parliament, who sat :
“either House, were too few to give reputation to ac-
“of so great moment, as were transacted in their coun-
“cils ; which, though it was no fault of theirs, who
“kept their proper stations, but of those who had oc-
“curred their places, and their trusts, by being abse-
“nt from the Parliament ; yet that, in truth, there were
“too many absent, though in the service of the Hou-
“se and by their appointment ; and if all the membe-
“rs were obliged to attend the service of the Parliamen-
“t in the Parliament, it would bring great reputation :
“to their numbers, and the people would pay more reve-
“rence, and yield a fuller obedience to their commands :
and then concluded, “that he was ready to accuse him-
“self for one of those who gained by an office he had
“and though he was possessed of it before the beginning :
“of the troubles, and owed it not to the favour of the
“Parliament,” (for he had been joined with Sir William
Ruffel in the treasurership of the navy, by the King’s
grant), “yet he was ready to lay it down, to be disposed
“of by the Parliament ; and wished, that the profits
“thereof might be applied towards the support of the
“war.”

When the ice was thus broke, Oliver Cromwell, who
had not yet arrived at the faculty of speaking with de-
cency and temper, commended the preachers “for hav-
“ing dealt plainly and impartially, and told them of
“their

their faults, which they had been so unwilling to hear
 of : that there were many things, upon which he had
 never reflected before, yet upon revolving what had
 been said, he could not but confess, that all was very
 true ; and till there were a perfect reformation in those
 particulars which had been recommended to them,
 nothing would prosper that they took in hand : that
 the Parliament had done very wisely, in the entrance
 into the war, to engage many members of their own
 in the most dangerous parts of it, that the nation
 might see that they did not intend to embark them in
 perils of war, whilst themselves sat securely at home
 out of gun-shot, but would march with them where
 the danger most threatened ; and those honourable
 persons, who had exposed themselves this way, had
 merited so much of their country, that their memories
 should be held in perpetual veneration ; and whatso-
 ever should be well done after them, would be always
 imputed to their example : but, that God had so
 blessed their army, that there had grown up with it,
 and under it, very many excellent officers, who were
 fitter for much greater charges than they were now
 possessed of ; and desired them not to be terrified with
 an imagination, that if the highest offices were vacant,
 they should not be able to put as fit men into them ;
 for, besides that it was not good to put so much trust
 in any arm of flesh, as to think such a cause as this
 depended upon any one man, he did take upon him
 to assure them, that they had officers in their army,
 who were fit to be generals in any enterprise in Christ-
 endom."

He said " he thought nothing so necessary as to purge
 and vindicate the Parliament from the partiality to-
 wards their own members ; and made a proffer to lay

“down his commission of command in the army;” and desired, “that an ordinance might be prepared, by which it might be made unlawful for any member of either House of Parliament to hold any office or command in the army, or any place or employment in the state;” and so concluded with an enlargement upon “the vices and corruptions which were gotten into the army; the profaneness, and impiety, and absence of all religion; the drinking and gaming, and all manner of licence, and laziness;” and said plainly, “that till the whole army were new modelled, and governed under a stricter discipline, they must not expect any notable success in any thing they went about.”

This debate ended in appointing a committee, “to prepare an ordinance for the exclusion of all members from their trusts aforesaid;” which took up much debate, and depended very long before it was brought to a conclusion; and in the end was called the *self-denying ordinance*; the driving on of which exceedingly increased the inclination of the other party to peace; which they did now foresee would only prevent their own ruins, in that of the kingdom.

Advice came from so many several hands to Oxford, that the King should send a message to the Houses for peace, with an assurance that it would not be rejected, that his Majesty (who still apprehended as great a division among his own friends upon the conditions of peace, out of the universal weariness of the war, as he discerned there was among his enemies upon the emulation in command, or differences in religion) entered upon the consideration how to bring it to pass. The members of Parliament were still sitting at Oxford: but they at London who were most desirous of peace, had given warning to avoid that rock; and that their names should never

ver be mentioned; which would have procured an union between the most irreconcilable parties, in crowing out such overtures. On the other side, the sending a bare message, by a trumpet, was not probably like to produce any other effect, than an insolent answer in the same way, or no answer at all, as his two or three last messages had done.

In conclusion, the King resolved that there should be short message drawn; in which "the continuance of the war, and the mischiefs it brought upon the kingdom, should be lamented: and his desire expressed, that some reasonable conditions of peace might be thought upon; assuring them that his Majesty would be willing to consent to any thing, that could consist with his conscience and honour." He resolved, that he would send this message by some persons of condition; who might, upon conference with their friends, be able to make some impression; at least discover what might be reasonably expected. And if the Parliament should refuse to grant a safe conduct for such messengers, it might well be presumed, what reception the message itself was like to find. The persons he resolved to send, were the Duke of Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton; both of unblemished honour, and of general reputation in the kingdom. So a trumpet was sent to the Earl of Essex for a safe guard, or pass, to those two Lords; to the end they might deliver a message from the King to the two Houses concerning a treaty of peace. To which the Earl of Essex only answered, "that he would acquaint the Houses with it, and return their answer;" and so dismissed the trumpet.

The King had now done his part; and the rest was to be perfected there. They who were resolved never to admit a peace, though they could not still prevent a treaty,

treaty, thought they had advantage enough to object against this unusual message: "If the message itself had been sent, they might have judged, whether it had been like to be attended with good success, and so might have accepted a treaty, if they had approved of it; and this sending of messengers before they knew what they would bring, was an invention to begin a treaty before they admitted it; and to send enemies into their quarters, with authority to scatter their poison abroad:" and therefore, with great passion, they pressed, "that no safe pass should be sent." On the other hand it was, with equal passion, alleged, "that the refusal of the safe conduct was a total rejection of peace, before they understood upon what terms it would be offered; which the people would take very ill from them, and conclude that the war must continue for ever; they therefore wished for a safe guard might be sent without delay, and that they would have a better opinion of their friends, than to imagine that the presence or power of two men, how considerable soever, would be able to corrupt or pervert their affections from the Parliament."

In this opinion the Scottish commissioners likewise concurred; so that the other party found it necessary to consent, and the safe conduct, after many debates was sent accordingly. But that they might not seem to their friends abroad to be overpowered, they revenged themselves in pursuing the dispatch of their *self-denying ordinance* with great vehemence; and because the effect of that was manifestly that they should be without a general, it was already proposed, "that Sir Thomas Fairfax" (who had behaved himself so signally in their service in the defeat of Colonel Bellasis, and taking him prisoner, which gave them their first footing in Yorkshire, from their being shut up and besieged in Hull; in the overthrow

Sir Thomas Fairfax is proposed in the House of Commons to be made their general.

row of the Lord Byron, and taking all the Irish regiments; and lastly in the late battle at York, where he had turned the fortune of the day, when the Scots army was routed, and their general fled) "might now be made their general;" for which Oliver Cromwell assured them he as very equal. In the discourses upon this subject, which found all opposition), as the service of the Earl of Effex was much magnified, and his merit extolled, by those who desired to have *no* other general, so it was undervalued and depressed, with some bitterness and contumely, by those who believed that all they could do would be to no purpose, if he were not totally excluded from any power.

About the beginning of December, the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, upon their passage from Oxford to London; where they were advised not to go much abroad, lest the people should be apt to do them injury; and very few had the courage to come to them, except with great privacy. Only the Scottish commissioners, as men in sovereign authority, and independent upon the Parliament, made no scruple of visiting them, and being visited by them. The Houses did not presently agree upon the manner of their reception, how they should deliver their message; in which there had been before no difficulty, whilst the war was carried on only by the authority of the Parliament. Heretofore the message being delivered to either House, was quickly communicated to the other; but now the Scottish commissioners made a third estate, and the message was directed to them as well as to the Houses. In the end it was resolved, "that there should be a conference between the two Houses in the Painted Chamber; at which the Scottish commissioners should be present, and sit on one side of the table; and that the upper end of

The Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton sent to London with a message for a treaty.

“ it should be kept for the King’s messengers :” where there was a seat provided for them, all the rest being bare and expecting that they would be so too : for though the Lords used to be covered whilst the Commons were bare, yet the Commons would not be bare before Scottish commissioners ; and so none were covered. As soon as the two Lords came thither, they covered the trouble of the other ; but, being presently to speak, they were quickly freed from that eye-sore.

The two Lords used very few words, in letting the King know the King’s great inclinations to peace ; and delivered and read their message to that purpose ; which was received by the Lords without any other expression than “ that they should report it to the Houses ;” and the meeting broke up : and then many of the Lords, and some of the Commons, passed some compliments and ceremony to the two Lords, according to the acquaintance they had with them, and found opportunities to speak to them in private, or to send confiding persons to them. By which means, they found there were great divisions among them, and upon points that would admit no reconciliation ; and therefore they believed that there would be a treaty of peace ; but they could not make any such guess of the moderation of the conditions of the peace, as to conclude that it would be with effect. For they that most desired the peace, and would have been glad to have had it upon any terms, durst not own that they wished it, but upon the highest terms of honour and security for the Parliament ; which could neither be secure nor honourable for the King. They discovered, that they who did heartily wish the peace, did intend to promote a treaty between persons named by the King and persons named by the Parliament, to meet at some third place, and not to send commissioners to

Oxford

Oxford to treat with the King himself; which they had already found to be ineffectual, and not more likely now to produce a better end : whereas they did believe, or seemed to believe, that how unreasonable soever the propositions should be, upon which they treated, they would, by yielding to some things, when they refused others, sooner prevail with the Houses to mollify their demands, than at first to reform them.

This method was not ungrateful to the two Lords; who had the same conceptions, that, if sober men were named for commissioners, somewhat would result from the freedom of their communication. And the Duke of Richmond sent his Secretary Web expressly to Oxford, to know the King's pleasure, "whether, if a third place were proposed for commissioners on both sides to meet, they should consent to it?" which his Majesty (though he had no mind to trust others, but where himself was present) was persuaded to approve. But all this was but discourse, and private wishes : for it was never brought into debate ; and it was told them very plainly, "that, as long as they stayed in town, the Houses would never so much as confer, upon the subject of their message ; because they found it would be matter of great debate, and spend much time ; during which they did not desire their company, nor to be troubled with their insinuations." And therefore, as soon as they had received the King's message, they proceeded upon their trial of the Archbishop of Canterbury before both Houses of Parliament, upon an impeachment of high treason, resolving likewise to give that evidence to the people, of what inclination they had to make a peace with the King. The two Lords, observing this affected delay in the business they were sent about, and being advised by their friends not to stay

stay longer, but to expect the determination to be to Oxford, returned to the King, with some confidence that a treaty would be consented to ; and that it would be at some third place, and not at Oxford, and let London, by commissioners which should be agreed by both sides. But they brought an express desire, and even a condition to the King, from all those with whom they had conferred, and who were the chief persons who advanced the treaty, "that, if that which they laboured for should be yielded to by the Parliament, his Majesty would not name a person" (whom they mentioned to the King) "for one of his commissioners ; for that he was so odious, that they would absolutely decline the treaty, before they would admit him to be one of the treaters."

The trial of
the Arch-
bishop of
Canter-
bury.

It was, as is said before, a very sad omen to the treaty that, after they had received the King's message by those noble Lords, and before they returned any answer to it, they proceeded in the trial of the Archbishop of Canterbury ; who had lain prisoner in the Tower, from the beginning of the Parliament, about four years, without any prosecution till this time. Now they brought him to the bars of both Houses ; charging him with several articles of high treason ; which, if all that was alleged against him had been true, could not have made him guilty of treason. They accused him "of a design to bring in Popery, and of having correspondence with the Pope," and such like particulars, as the consciences of his greatest enemies absolved him from. No man was a greater or abler enemy to Popery ; no man a more resolute and devout son of the Church of England. He was prosecuted by lawyers, assigned to that purpose, out of those, who from their own antipathy to the Church and Bishops, or from some disobligations received from him,

im, were sure to bring passion, animosity, and malice enough of their own; what evidence soever they had from others. And they did treat him with all the rudeness, reproach, and barbarity imaginable; with which his judges were not displeased.

He defended himself with great and undaunted courage, and less passion than was expected from his constitution; answered all their objections with clearness and irresistible reason; and convinced all impartial men of his integrity, and his detestation of all treasonable intentions. So that though few excellent men have ever had fewer friends to their persons, yet all reasonable men absolved him from any foul crime that the law could take notice of, and punish. However, when they had said all they could against him, and he all for himself that need to be said, and no such crime appearing, as the Lords, as the supreme court of judicatory, would take upon them to judge him to be worthy of death, they resorted to their legislative power, and by ordinance of Parliament, as they called it, that is, by a determination of those members who sat in the Houses, (whereof in the House of Peers there were not above twelve), they appointed him to be put to death, as guilty of high treason. The first time that two Houses of Parliament had ever assumed that jurisdiction, or that ever ordinance had been made to such a purpose; nor could any rebellion be more against the law, than that murderous act.

When the first mention was made of their monstrous purpose; of bringing the Archbishop to a trial for his life, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had always a great reverence and affection for him, had spoken to the King of it, and proposed to him, "that in all events, there might be a pardon prepared, and sent to him,"

"under

He is condemned by an ordinance.

“ under the Great Seal of England ; to the end, if he
 “ proceeded against him in any form of law, he might
 “ plead the King’s pardon ; which must be allowed to
 “ all who pretended to be governed by the law ; but
 “ they proceeded in a martial, or any other extraordinary
 “ way, without any form of law, his Majesty should
 “ declare his justice and affection to an old faithful
 “ servant, whom he much esteemed, in having done
 “ all towards his preservation that was in his power to do.
 The King was wonderfully pleased with the proposition
 and took from thence occasion to commend the piety
 and virtue of the Archbishop, with extraordinary
 affection ; and commanded the Chancellor of the Ex-
 chequer to cause the pardon to be prepared, and that
 Majesty would sign and seal it with all possible secrecy
 which at that time was necessary. Whereupon the
 Chancellor sent for Sir Thomas Gardiner the King’s
 Solicitor, and told him the King’s pleasure ; upon
 which he presently drew the pardon, which was signed
 and sealed with the Great Seal of England, and carefully
 sent, and delivered into the Archbishop’s own hands
 before he was brought to his trial ; who received it with
 great joy, as it was a testimony of the King’s gracious
 affection to him, and care of him, without any opinion
 that they who endeavoured to take away the King’s life
 would preserve his by his Majesty’s authority.

When the Archbishop’s council had perused the pardon,
 and considered that all possible exceptions would be
 taken to it, though they should not reject it, they found,
 that the impeachment was not so distinctly set down in
 the pardon as it ought to be ; which could not be helped
 at Oxford, because they had no copy of it ; and there-
 fore had supplied it with all those general expressions, as
 in any court of law, would make the pardon valid
 against

gainst any exceptions the King's own council could make against it. Hereupon, the Archbishop had, by the same messenger, returned the pardon again to the Chancellor, with such directions and copies as were necessary; upon which it was perfected accordingly, and delivered safely again to him, and was in his hands during the whole time of his trial. So when his trial was over, and the ordinance passed for his execution, and he called and asked, according to custom in criminal proceedings, "what he could say more, why he should not suffer death?" he told them, "that he had the King's gracious pardon, which he pleaded, and tendered to them, and desired that it might be allowed." Whereupon he was sent to the Tower, and the pardon read in both Houses; where, without any long debate, it was declared "to be of no effect, and that the King could not pardon a judgment of Parliament." And so, without troubling themselves farther, they gave order for his beheading; which he underwent with all Christian courage and magnanimity, to the admiration of the beholders, and confusion of his enemies. Much hath been said of the person of this great Prelate before, of his great endowments, and natural infirmities; to which shall be added no more in this place, (his memory deserving a particular celebration), than that his learning, piety, and virtue, have been attained by very few, and the greatest of his infirmities are common to all, even to the best men.

The Arch-
bishop be-
headed.

When they had dispatched this important work, and thereby received a new instance of the good affection and courage of their friends, and involved the two Houses in fresh guilt and obloquy, (for too many concurred in it, without considering the heinousness of it, and only to keep their credit clear and entire, whereby they might

with the more authority advance the peace that was desired), they now enter upon the debate, "what answer they should send the King, concerning a treaty of peace." They who desired to advance it, hoped thereby to put an end to all the designs of new models for the army, and to prevent the increase of those sects in religion, which every day broke out among them: the notorious scandal of Christianity. They who had no mind to a treaty, because they had minds averse from all thoughts of peace, discerned plainly, that they should not be able to finish their design upon the army, and many other devices on foot, which would contribute to their convenience, until this longed-for treaty were at an end; and therefore they all agreed to give some conclusion to it; and resolved, that there should be a treaty and upon the method that should be observed in conducting it; from which they who should be employed by them, should not recede or be diverted.

The two Houses agree to a treaty at Uxbridge.

Then they nominated sixteen commissioners for the two Houses, and four for the Parliament of Scotland, and named Uxbridge for the place where the treaty should be; which treaty should be limited to be finished within twenty days from the time when it should begin.

Upon this conclusion, they sent their answer to the message they had received from the King by a trumpet, in a letter from their General to the King's General: in which they informed his Majesty, "that, out of their passionate desire of peace, they had agreed to his proposition for a treaty; and that they had assigned Uxbridge for the place where it should be; and had appointed the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Salisbury, and the Earl of Denbigh, of the House of Peers; and of the Com-
mons,

mons, the Lord Wainman, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Saint-John," (whom they called the King's Solicitor General), "Sir Henry Vane the younger, Mr. Whitlock, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Prideaux; and for the kingdom of Scotland, the Lord Lowden, Chancellor of Scotland, the Lord Maitland," (who, by the death of his father, became Earl of Lauderdale by the name of the treaty), "Sir Charles Erskin, and one Mr. Barclay, to be their commissioners; together with Mr. Alexander Henderson, in matters only which relate to the Church; to treat, upon the particulars they had entrusted them with, with such persons, as his Majesty should please to nominate; for all whom a safe conduct should be sent, as soon as his Majesty had named them; as they desired his Majesty's safe conduct for the persons named by them:" to none of which the King took any exception; but signed their pass; and sent word to the Houses, "that he accepted the treaty, and the place, and that he had nominated, as commissioners for him, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Kingston, the Earl of Chichester, the Lord Capel, the Lord Seymour, the Lord Hatton, Controller of the King's Household; the Lord Colpepper, Master of the Rolls; Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Edward Nicholas, principal Secretary of State; Sir Richard Lane, Lord Chief Baron of his Court of Exchequer; Sir Thomas Gardiner, his Majesty's Solicitor General; Sir Orlando Bridgman, Attorney of his Court of Wards; Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Geoffrey Palmer; and desired that a safe conduct might be sent for them, as his Majesty had sent for the others; and

The King
accepts it.

“ they should then be ready, at the day that was :
 “ down, at Uxbridge.”

When this was returned to Westminster, there were new disputes upon the persons named by the King, rather against the additions, and appellations of the which were made to their names ; for they did not except against the persons of any of them, though several were most ungracious to them.

When the Lord Keeper Littleton had fled from Westminster, upon his Majesty's commands to arrest him at York, the two Houses had, in their fury, declared, “ that nothing which should, from that time pass under the Great Seal, should be good and valid, “ but void and null.” This they did to discredit a commission, which they foresaw might issue out of their conviction, trial, and attainder : and, in some time after, they had caused a Great Seal to be made with the King's image, for the dispatch of the necessary processes in law, and proceedings in courts of justice ; which Seal was committed by them to some of their members who had sate in the Chancery, and transacted the business of that court, and applied the Seal to all the uses and purposes it had been accustomed unto. They found this declaration and ordinance of theirs invalid : in this message they had now received from the King. The Lord Dunsmore had been created Earl of Chichester ; Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Hatton ; Sir John Colepepper, Lord Colepepper, with the addition of Master of the Rolls ; which office they had bestowed upon Lenthall their Speaker, who was in possession of it ; Sir Edward Hyde was declared Chancellor of the Exchequer ; which, though it was an office they had not meddled with bestowing, yet it had passed the

Great

Great Seal, after it came into the King's hands. Sir Thomas Gardiner was made the King's Solicitor; and the patent formerly granted to their beloved Saint-John, stood revoked, which they would not endure, having, as is said, annexed that title to his name when they mentioned him as a commissioner for their treaty. They had the same exception to the Chief Baron, and to the Attorney of the Wards; both which offices were in the possession of men more in their favour.

After long debate, they were contented to insert their names in their safe conduct, without their honours or offices; and they were so angry with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they had no mind that he should be styled a Knight, because he was not so when he left the Parliament: but the Scottish commissioners prevailed in that point, since they had not yet pretended to take away the use of the King's sword from him; so they allowed him, by a majority of votes, to be a Knight, and sent their safe conduct, in the manner as is mentioned, to Oxford: upon which the King, at the desire of the persons concerned, forbore to insist; but giving them still in his own pass, and in his commission whereby they were authorised to treat, the style and appellation which belonged to them, and which must be allowed by the others before they begun to treat. The style of their pass was not thought worthy any reply; and because there was private advice given at the same time, "that they would not, when they met at the treaty, consider any authority that qualified the King's commissioners to treat, but only what should be under the King's sign-manual," though they would not have taken that for a sufficient warrant for themselves to treat with the King's enemies; at last the King's commissioners were contented, together with a com-
mission

mission under the Great Seal of England, to take another likewise with them in that form, and only under the sign-manual, as was desired.

The treaty
at Ux-
bridge.

About the end of January, or the beginning of February, the commissioners on both sides met at Uxbridge; which being within the enemy's quarters, the King's commissioners were to have such accommodations, as the other thought fit to leave to them; who had been very civil in the distribution, and left one entire side of the town to the King's commissioners, one house only excepted, which was given to the Earl of Pembroke; so that they had no cause to complain of their accommodation, which was as good as the town would yield, and as good as the other had. There was a good house at the end of the town, which was provided for the treaty, where was a fair room in the middle of the house, handsomely dressed up for the commissioners to sit in; a large square table being placed in the middle, with seats for the commissioners, one side being sufficient for those of either party, and a rail for others who should be thought necessary to be present, which went round. There were many other rooms on either side of this great room, for the commissioners on either side to retire to, when they thought fit to consult by themselves, and to return again to the public debate; and there being good stairs at either end of the house, they never went through each other's quarters; nor met, but in the great room.

As soon as the King's commissioners came to the town, all those of the Parliament came to visit and to welcome them, and, within an hour, those of the King's returned their visits with usual civilities; each professing great desire and hope, that the treaty would produce a good peace. The first visits were altogether, and in
one

one room ; the Scots being in the same room with the English. Each party eat always together, there being two great inns which served very well to that purpose. The Duke of Richmond, being Steward of his Majesty's house, kept his table there for all the King's commissioners : nor was there any restraint from giving and receiving visits apart, as their acquaintance and inclinations disposed them ; in which those of the King's party used their accustomed freedom, as heretofore. But on the other side there was great wariness and reservedness, and so great a jealousy of each other, that they had no mind to give or receive visits to or from their old friends, whom they loved better than their new. Nor would any of them be seen alone with any of the King's commissioners, but had always one of their companions with them, and sometimes one whom they least trusted. It was observed by the town, and the people that flocked thither, that the King's commissioners looked as if they were at home, and governed the town, and the other as if they were not in their own quarters : and the truth is, they had not that alacrity and serenity of mind, as men use to have who do not believe themselves to be in a fault.

The King's commissioners would willingly have performed their devotions in the church, nor was there any restraint upon them from doing so, that is, by inhibition from the Parliament, otherwise than that by the Parliament's ordinance (as they called it) the Book of Common Prayer was not permitted to be read, nor the vestures nor ceremonies of the Church to be used : So that the days of devotion were observed in their great room of the inn ; whither many of the country, and the train of the commissioners, and other persons, who came every day from London, usually resorted.

When the commissioners on both sides met together in the room appointed for the treaty, and taken their seats, it being left to the King's commissioners which side of the table they would take, the Earl of Northumberland, who always delivered the thing that was agreed between them, and read all the papers, (after the powers of both sides were examined and perused), proposed some rules to be observed in the treaty; "as of having nothing binding, unless all was agreed upon," and such like; to which there was no objection; and offered, as a direction they had received from the Parliament, "that they should first enter upon the matter of religion, and treat three entire days upon that subject, without entering upon any other; and if all differences in that particular were not adjusted within those days, they should then proceed to the next point, which was the militia; and observe the same method in that, and from thence pass to the business of Ireland; which three points being settled, they believed the other differences would be with more ease composed: and after those nine days were passed, they were to go round again upon the several subjects, as long as the time limited would continue: his Majesty being left at liberty to propose what he thought fit, at his own time, and to change the method proposed." It was declared, that the twenty days, limited for the treaty, were to be reckoned of the days which should be spent in the treaty, and not the days of coming or returning, or the days spent in devotion; there falling out three Sundays and a fast-day in those twenty days. The method was willingly consented to; the King's commissioners conceiving it would be to no purpose to propose any thing on the King's behalf, till they discerned what

what agreement was like to be made in any one particular ; by which they might take their measures, and might propose any thing of moment under one of the three heads mentioned before.

There happened a very odd accident, the very first morning they met at the house to agree upon their method to be observed in the treaty. It was a market-day, when they used always to have a sermon, and many of the persons who came from Oxford in the commissioners' train, went to the church to observe the forms. There was one Love, a young man, that came from London with the commissioners, who preached, and told his auditory, which consisted of the people of the town, and of those who came to the market, the church being very full, " that they were not to expect " any good from the treaty ; for that they came from " Oxford with hearts full of blood, and that there was " as great distance between this treaty and peace, as between heaven and hell ; and that they intended only " to amuse the people with expectation of peace, till " they were able to do some notable mischief to them ; " and inveighed so seditiously against all Cavaliers, that is, against all who followed the King, and against the persons of the commissioners, that he could be understood to intend nothing else, but to stir up the people to mutiny, and in it to do some act of violence upon the commissioners. They were no sooner advertised of it, by several persons who had been present in the church, and who gave very particular information of the very words which had been spoken, than they informed the other commissioners of it ; gave them a charge in writing against the preacher, and demanded public justice. They seemed troubled at it, and promised to examine it, and cause some severe punishment to be inflicted upon

upon the man; but afterwards confessed, "that they had no authority to punish him, but that they had caused him to be sharply reprehended, and to be sent out of the town:" and this was all that could be obtained; so unwilling they were to discountenance a man who was willing to serve them. This is the case of Love, who some years after, by Cromwell's particular prosecution, had his head cut off, for being in a party with the Scots against the army, and their Parliament.

It is not the purpose of this discourse to set down the particular transactions of this treaty; which were published by the King's order, shortly after the conclusion of it, and all the papers which had been delivered to the commissioners on either side, exposed to the view of the kingdom, in the method and manner in which they were delivered. Only such particulars as fell out at that time, and were never communicated, and many of them known to very few, shall be briefly mentioned, that any, who hereafter shall have the perusal of this history, may know how impossible it was, that the treaty could produce such a peace as both sides would have been glad of; and that they who governed the Parliament then, had at that time the resolution to attend those monstrous things, which they brought afterwards to pass.

First of religion.

The first business to be entered upon being that of religion, the divines of both sides were admitted to be present in the places appointed for them, opposite to each other; and Dr. Steward, Clerk of the Closet to the King, was a commissioner, as Mr. Henderson was on the other side; and they both sat covered without the bar, at the backs of the commissioners. On the Parliament part it was proposed, "that all the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters might be immediately taken away

away and abolished; and in the room thereof, that there might be another government erected, such as should be most agreeable to God's word, and the practice of the best churches: that the Book of Common Prayer might be taken away, and totally suppressed; and that, instead thereof, a Directory might be used," (in which there was likewise set down so much of the government which they meant to erect for the future, as was necessary to be provided for the present, and which supplied all the use of Articles or Canons, which they had likewise abolished); and "that the King himself should take the Covenant, and consent to an Act of Parliament, whereby all persons of the kingdom should be likewise obliged to take it." And the copies of the Covenant and the Directory were delivered at the same time to the King's commissioners; which were very long, and necessary to be read over, before any answer could be made to them. So they took that afternoon to peruse them together, and adjourned their treaty till the next morning; and though they entered upon the reading them before dinner, the Directory was so very long, that they spent all that afternoon, and some part of the night, before they had finished the reading of them. Then, there being many new terms in the Directory, as *congregational*, *classical*, *provincial*, and *synodical*, which were not known in practice, and some expressions in the Covenant which were ambiguous, and, they well knew, were left so, because the persons who framed them were not all of one mind, nor had the same intentions in some of the other terms mentioned before, the King's commissioners caused many questions to be prepared in writing, to be offered at the next meeting; wherein they desired to be informed, what their meaning was in such
and

and such expressions, in which they knew well they several meanings, and would hardly concur in one the same answer.

About the beginning of the treaty, or the day it did begin, the Earl of Lowden, Chancellor of Scotland, visited the Duke of Richmond privately in chamber; and either proposed, or was very willing to have private conference there with the Chancellor the Exchequer; upon which the Duke, who knew well the other would not decline it, sent to him; he presently went to the Duke's chamber, where he found them both; and after some short compliments the Earl told him, "how stoutly he had defended knighthood; which the Parliament had resolved to have denied, if he had not convinced them." Then he discoursed of "the great prejudice the Parliament had against him, as a man who more industriously opposed peace than any other of the King's Council; that he had now a good opportunity to wipe off those jealousies, by being a good instrument in making this peace, and by persuading his Majesty to comply with the desires and supplications of his Parliament; which he hoped he would be."

The Chancellor told him, "that the King did much desire a peace, that no man need advise him to it, or could divert him from it, if fair and honourable conditions of peace were offered to him; but if peace could not be had, but upon such conditions as his Majesty judged inconsistent with his honour or his conscience, no man could have credit enough to persuade him to accept it; and that, for his own part, without reflecting upon the good or ill opinion the Parliament might have of him, he would dissuade him from consenting to it." The other seemed

appointed in his so positive answer; yet, with great freedom, entered upon discourse of the whole matter; and, after some kind of apology, "that Scotland was so far engaged in the quarrel, contrary to their former intentions and professions," he did as good as conclude, "that if the King would satisfy them in the business of the Church, they would not concern themselves in any of the other demands." In which proposition, finding no kind of compliance from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but sharp protestations against the demands, as inconsistent with conscience, justice, or religion, the conference broke off, without inclination in either of them to renew it. But, from that time, there was more contradiction, and quick repartees between them two throughout the treaty, than between any other of the commissioners. And it was manifest enough, by the private conferences with other of the commissioners, that the Parliament took none of the points in controversy less to heart, or were less united in, than in what concerned the Church.

When, upon the next meeting of the commissioners, the questions, which were mentioned before, were read, and delivered by the Duke of Richmond, who always performed that part on the behalf of the King's commissioners, as the Earl of Northumberland did on the Parliament's, there was a visible disorder in their countenances; some of them, smiling, said, We looked into their game; but without offering at any answer, they arose, and went to their room of consultation; where they remained in great passion, and wrangling, many hours: so that the other commissioners, finding that they were not like suddenly to agree, adjourned till the afternoon, and departed to dinner. As soon as they came together in the afternoon, and were late, the Earl
of

of Northumberland said, "that they wondered
 "should appear any difficulty in any expressions,
 "which those questions had been administered in
 "morning; which to them seemed very clear
 "plain; however, to give their lordships satisfaction
 "that they had appointed another noble lord, the
 "present, who was well acquainted with the signifi-
 "cation of all those words, to explain what the com-
 "sense and meaning of them was." Thereupon, the
 Earl of Lauderdale made a discourse upon the fore-
 questions, and what acceptation those expressions
 words had. But being a young man, not accus-
 to an orderly and decent way of speaking, and having
 gracious pronunciation, and full of passion, he made
 thing much more difficult than it was before: so that
 the commissioners desired, "that they might receive
 "answer in writing; since it was declared upon the
 "trance of the treaty, that though in debate any
 "might say what he thought necessary, yet nothing
 "should be understood to be the sense of either side
 "but what was delivered in writing; and therefore the
 "desired, that what that noble lord had said, which the
 "presumed was the sense of all the rest, because the
 "had referred to him, and seemed satisfied with what he
 "had delivered, might be given to them in writing
 "without which they knew not how to proceed,
 "give an answer to what was proposed to them." This
 demand, founded upon a rule of their own, which the
 knew not how to decline, put the Scottish commissioners
 into great passion: for all the English sat still without
 speaking a word, as if they were not concerned. The
 Lord Lauderdale repeated what he had said before, a
 little more distinctly; and the Chancellor of Scotland
 said, "that the things were so plain, that no man could
 "choose

hoose but understand, and remember what was spoken ; and that the pressing to put it in writing was only to spend time ; which would be quickly out, half the time assigned for the business of religion being to expire that night ;" and therefore passionately fired them, " that they would rest satisfied with what had been spoken, and proceed upon the matter."

It was replied, " that they could not trust their memories so far, as to prepare an answer to their demands concerning the Covenant, or Directory, except they were sure that they understood the full and declared meaning of their demand ; which they had less reason now to believe they did, than before ; since there was so much difficulty made to satisfy them in writing ; and therefore they must insist upon receiving an answer to the papers they had given : " and two or three of the King's commissioners withdrew, and prepared another paper ; in which they set down the reasons which obliged them not to be satisfied with the discourse which had been made, and why they must insist upon the having it in writing ; which being communicated to the rest as they sat, was likewise delivered to the others ; who could not refuse to receive it, though it was plain enough they never intended to give any answer in writing ; nor they on the King's side, to desist from demanding it : but they declared, " that as " they presumed they should, in the end, receive their " answer in writing, which they should not depart from, " so it was their resolution not to defer their farther " proceeding upon the matter ; but they were ready to " prosecute that in the method they would desire ; " and so it was resolved, " the next morning, to hear the divines, who were of either party, what they would say " against or for episcopacy, and the government, and
" lands

“lands of the Church;” which were equally concerned in the debate.

On the King's part, besides Dr. Steward, who was commissioner in matters relating to the Church, was Dr. Sheldon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Lany, afterwards Bishop of Ely; Dr. Fern, afterwards Bishop of Chester; Dr. Potter, then Dean of Worcester, and Provost of Queen's College in Oxford; and Dr. Hammond; all who, being the King's counsellors, were sent by him to attend the commissioners in their devotions, and for the other service of the Church, as the management of the treaty required; which could not be foreseen. On the Parliament side, besides Alexander Henderson, who was the commissioner, was Marshall, a country parson in Essex, and an eminent preacher of that party, who was the chief chaplain of the army; Mr. Vines, a parson likewise in Warwickshire, and a scholar, (both of them of the Assembly of Divines, and so, very conversant in those points relating to the Church, which had been so often disputed there); Mr. Cheynel, one who had been Fellow of Merton College in Oxford, and two or three others; who, being no parts in the disputes, had not their names remembered.

Mr. Henderson begun rather with rhetoric than logic, “of the necessity to change the government of the Church for the preservation of the State; which was so much in danger, that it could be preserved by no other way; and therefore that in conscience it ought to be consented to; that the question was not about the preservation of both, which, by the wisdoms of the Parliaments of both nations, was found to be impossible; but since there could but one stand, whether they should be both sacrificed, or the Church given up.”

p, that the State might be preserved: nor was the question now whether episcopacy was lawful, and the government by bishops consistent with religion; but whether it was so necessary, that religion could not be preserved without it; which was to condemn all the reformed Churches of Europe, where there were no bishops, England only excepted. It ought therefore to suffice, that the Parliament, which best understood what was good for the nation, had found it to be a very unnecessary, inconvenient, and corrupt government, that had been productive of great mischief to the kingdom from the very time of the Reformation; that the bishops had always favoured Popery, and preserved and continued many of the rights and customs thereof in their government and practice; and had of late introduced many innovations into the Church, by the example and pattern of the Church of Rome, and to the great scandal of the Protestant Churches of Germany, France, Scotland, and Holland; that they had been the occasion of the war between the two nations of Scotland and England; and then of the rebellion in Ireland; and now of the civil war in England; and thereupon, that the Parliament, in order to the uniting all the Protestant Churches, which was the only way to extinguish Popery, had resolved to change this inconvenient, mischievous government, and erect another in the place of it, which should advance piety and true religion; and that he hoped the King would concur in so godly an action, which would prove so much for his glory." He took notice of "an old answer formerly made by * a King of England, when the alteration of some laws, &c.

* Let the reader take notice, that Mr. Henderson is ~~mis~~ *mis*

“ been desired of him ; *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari* ;
 “ which, he said, must be a mistake in the impression
 “ that it was impossible for any king to lay it down as a
 “ rule, that he will not change the laws ; for most kings
 “ had changed them often for their own and their sub-
 “ jects’ benefit : but the meaning must be, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, we will change them as often as
 “ there shall be occasion, but we will not suffer them to
 “ *mutari*, to be changed by the presumption of others
 “ without our consent.” He said, “ they did not presume
 “ to think of compelling the King to change the
 “ government of the Church ; but they hoped
 “ would willingly do it, upon the humble petition of
 “ both kingdoms, and for his own and their benefit
 “ that he should say no more, till he should hear
 “ reasons from the divines on the other side, why
 “ Majesty should not consent to the advice of his
 “ parliament, since he conceived nothing of consequence
 “ could be alleged against it, because it appeared
 “ what his Majesty had consented to in Scotland, for
 “ utter abolishing of bishops, that he did not believe
 “ his conscience that episcopacy was absolutely necessary
 “ for the support of Christian religion.”

Dr. Steward, with a much better countenance, told the
 commissioners, “ that he hoped and knew that the
 “ lords were too well acquainted with the constitution
 “ of the Church of England, and the foundation
 “ upon which it subsisted, to believe it could be shaken
 “ by any of those arguments which had been made
 “ against it. He said, that though he did believe
 “ it was impossible to prove that a government, sensible

the English story. *Nolumus, &c.* was not said by a king, but to his
 See Coke upon the Statute of Merton, cap. 9.

nd continued without intermission, from the time when Christianity was first planted in England, and under which the Christian religion had so much flourished, was an unlawful and Antichristian government; yet that he expected, that they who had sworn to abolish it, and came now to persuade their lordships to concur with them in pressing the King to join in the same obligation, would not urge a less argument for such their engagement, than the unlawfulness and wickedness of that government, which conscience obliged them to remove. But Mr. Henderson had wisely declined that argument, though in their common sermons, and other discourses in print, they gave it no better style than Antichristian; and had urged only the inconveniences which had fallen out from it, and benefit which would result by the change, of which no judgment could be made, till it might be known what government they did intend to erect in the place of it; and since the union with the foreign Protestant Churches seemed to be their greatest reason for the prodigious alteration they proposed, he wished that they would set down, which foreign Church it is, to which they meant to conform, and make their new government by; for that he was assured, that the model which they seem affected to in their Directory, was not like to any of the foreign reformed Churches now in the world." He said, " though he would not take upon him to censure the foreign Churches, yet it was enough known, that the most learned men of those Churches had lamented, that their reformation was not so perfect as it ought to be, for want of episcopacy; which they could not be suffered to have: and they had always paid that reverence to the Church of England, which they conceived due to it, as to the

3 L 2

" church

“ church to which God had vouchsafed the most
 “ sect reformation, because it retains all that was
 “ cent, or venerable in antiquity.” He then came
 upon the original institution of episcopacy; using
 those arguments, which are still used by the most learned
 men in those disputes, to prove, that without bishops
 there could be no ordination of ministers, and consequently
 no administration of sacraments, or performance
 of the ministerial functions. . He said, “ he would
 “ presume to say any thing of his Majesty’s having
 “ consented to the abrogation of episcopacy in Scotland
 “ though he knew what his Majesty himself thought
 “ it, only that he had an obligation upon him in
 “ conscience in this kingdom, which he had not in
 “ his coronation oath, by which he was bound to defend
 “ the rights of the Church; and that alone would
 “ it unlawful for his Majesty to consent to what
 “ proposed, both in the point of episcopacy, and
 “ alienation of the lands of the Church; which would
 “ be direct sacrilege.”

Upon these several points, and what resulted from
 thence, the divines on both sides spent all that
 morning and afternoon, till it was very late in the night
 and most part of the next day; only the commissioners
 on either side, at the first coming together, morning
 and afternoons, presented such papers as they thought
 fit, upon what had passed in debate: as, the King’s
 commissioners desired to know in writing, “ whether
 “ the Parliament commissioners did believe that the
 “ government of the Church by bishops was unlawful;
 to which they could never obtain a categorical answer.

When the last of the three first days was past, (for
 it was near twelve of the clock at night), and the Scottish
 commissioners observed that nothing was consented to
 which

ich they looked for, the Chancellor of Scotland entered into a long discourse, with much passion, against hops, “ of the mischief they had done in all ages, and of their being the sole causes of the late troubles in Scotland, and of the present troubles in England :” remembered, “ that the Archbishop of Canterbury had pursued the introduction of the Liturgy and the Canons into Scotland with so great vehemence, that, when it was desired that the publishing them might be suspended for one month, that the people might be the better prepared to submit to what they had not been before acquainted with, he would by no means consent to that delay ; but caused it to be entered upon the next Sunday, against the advice of many of the Bishops themselves ; which put the people into such a fury, that they could not be appeased. He lamented and complained, that three days had been now spent in fruitless debates ; and that though their divines had learnedly made it appear, that episcopacy had no foundation in Scripture, and that it might be lawfully taken away ; and that notwithstanding it was evident that it had been the cause of great mischief, and the wisdom of Parliament had thought the utter taking it away to be absolutely necessary for the preservation of the kingdom ; their lordships were still unmoved, and had yielded in no one particular of importance, to give them satisfaction ; from which they could not but conclude, that they did not bring that hearty inclination to peace, which they hoped they would have done ;” and so concluded with some expressions more rude and insolent than were expected.

Whereupon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, not without some commotion, said, “ that he did not won-

“der that their lordships, who had for some years
 “accustomed to such discourses, and the more inclin-
 “to suppose all that was confidently said to be rea-
 “bly proved, and so having not been used to con-
 “with any persons of a contrary opinion, had
 “brought to consent and approve those altera-
 “which they had proposed; but that it seemed
 “admirable to him, that their lordships could ex-
 “or imagine it possible, that they who never had be-
 “such things said before, nor could understand in fo-
 “tle time what had been now said, should depart fr-
 “a faith, and a form of worship, in which they had be-
 “educated from their cradle, and which, upon so
 “observation and experience, they looked upon
 “all possible approbation and reverence, upon
 “hearing it inveighed against three days; which w-
 “have been much too little time to have warrant-
 “conversion from much less important opinions, th-
 “had so long entertained; though their arguments
 “had as much weight as they wanted.” He said, “th-
 “were of opinion, that all those mischiefs and incon-
 “niences which they had mentioned, had in tr-
 “proceeded from an over vehement desire to overthrow
 “episcopacy, not from the zeal to support it: that
 “the Archbishop of Canterbury had been too precip-
 “tate in pressing the reception of that, which he thou-
 “a reformation, he paid dearly for it; which made
 “the more wonder, that they should blame them, for not
 “submitting to much greater alterations, than were
 “that time proposed, in three days; when they
 “proached him, for not having given them a whole
 “month to consider.” He said, “he might assure the-
 “lordships with great sincerity, that they were come
 “thither with all imaginable passion and desire, that the
 “treaty

creaty might conclude in a happy and blessed peace ; as he still hoped it would: but if it should be otherwise, that they would still believe their lordships brought with them the same honourable and pious inclinations, though the instructions and commands from those who trusted them, restrained them 'from consenting to what in their own judgments seemed reasonable." and so, without any manner of reply, both sides arose, and departed, it being near midnight.

There happened a pleasant accident on one of these days, which were assigned for the matter of religion. The commissioners of both sides, either before their sitting, or after their rising, entertaining themselves together by the fire side, as they sometimes did, it being extremely cold, in general and casual discourses, one of the King's commissioners asked one of the other, with whom he had familiarity, in a low voice, " why there ' was not in their whole Directory any mention at all " of the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, and so lit- " tle of the Lord's Prayer ?" which is only once recommended. The Earl of Pembroke, overhearing the discourse, answered aloud, and with his usual passion, " that he, and many others, were very sorry that they " had been left out ; that the putting them in had taken " up many hours debate in the House of Commons, " and that at last the leaving them out had been carried " by eight or nine voices ; and so they did not think fit " to insist upon the addition of them in the House of " Peers ; but many were afterwards troubled at it, and " he verily believed, if it were to do again, they should " carry it for the inserting them all ;" which made many smile, to hear that the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, had been put to the question, and rejected : and many of the other were troubled, and out of counte-

nance with the reason the good lord had given for exclusion.

Secondly of
the militia.

The next subject of the treaty was the business of the militia; which their commissioners positively required "to be entirely vested in the Parliament, and in such persons as they thought fit to be confided in. This," they said, was more necessary than ever, for the securing the people from their fears and jealousies; which were now much increased, and were capable of being assuaged by no other means:" and delivered a long paper to that purpose, which contained no more than had been often said in their declarations, and as often answered in those which had been published by the King. And when the commissioners of the King, whereof there were four very eminent in the knowledge of the law, Lane, Gardiner, Bridgman, and Palmer, made the demand appear to be without any pretence of law or justice, and asserted it to be vested in the King by the law, they never offered to allege any other argument, than the determination of the Parliament, which had declared the right of the militia to be in them, from which they could not recede; so that the conference were very short upon those days, but the papers very long which were mutually delivered; the preparing whereof took up the time; they of that side (even they who most desired the peace) both publickly and privately insisting "upon having the whole command of the militia by sea and land, and all the forts and ships of the kingdom at their disposal; without which they looked upon themselves as lost, and at the King's mercy;" not considering that he must be at theirs, if such a power was committed to them. But in this particular, he who was most reasonable among them, thought it very unreasonable to deny them that necessary security;

urity; and believed it could proceed from nothing else, but a resolution to take the highest vengeance upon their rebellion.

Then they entered upon the business of Ireland; in which they thought they had the King at a very great advantage, and that his commissioners would not be able to answer the charges they should make upon that particular. And many of the commissioners on the King's part, who had not been well acquainted with those transactions, thought it would be a hard matter to justify all that the King had been necessitated to do; and any thing of grace towards the Irish rebels was as ungracious at Oxford as it was at London; because they knew the whole kingdom had a great detestation of them. They ripped up all that had been done from the beginning of that rebellion; "how the King had voluntarily committed the carrying on that war to the two Houses of Parliament; that they had levied great sums of money upon the kingdom for that service; but finding that it was like to bring a greater burden upon the kingdom than it could bear, that his Majesty had consented to an Act of Parliament for the encouragement of adventurers to bring in money, upon assurance of having land assigned to them in that kingdom, out of the forfeitures of the rebels, as soon as the rebellion should be suppressed; and had likewise, by the same Act, put it out of his power to make any peace or cessation with those rebels, or to grant pardon to any of them, without consent of Parliament; and thereupon many of his Majesty's subjects had brought in very considerable sums of money, by which they had been able to manage that war without putting this kingdom to farther charge; and God had so blessed the Protestant forces there, that they

“ they had subdued and vanquished the rebels in all counters; and, probably, by that time, the whole rebellion had been extinguished, if the King had not, contrary to his promise and obligation by that Act of Parliament, made a cessation with those execrable rebels, when they were not able to continue the war; and had called over many of those regiments, which the Parliament had sent over against the Irish, to return hither to fight against the Parliament: by means whereof his Protestant subjects of that kingdom were in great danger to be destroyed, and the kingdom to be entirely possessed by the Papists.” They enlarged themselves upon this subject, with all the invidious insinuations they could devise, to make the people believe, that the King was inclined to and favoured that rebellion. They demanded, “ that the King would forthwith declare that cessation to be void; and that he would prosecute the war against those rebels with the utmost fury; and that the Act of Parliament for their reduction might be executed as it ought to be.”

The commissioners of the King prepared and delivered a very full answer in writing to all their demands; at the delivery whereof, they appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enlarge upon any of those particulars, which proved the counsels that had been taken just and necessary. This he did so particularly and convincingly, that those of the Parliament were in much confusion, and the King's commissioners much pleased. He put them in mind of “ their bringing those very troops, which were levied by the King's authority for the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, to fight against the King at Edgehill, under the command of the Earl of Essex; of their having given over the
“ prosecution

“ prosecution of that war, or sending any supply of
“ arms, money, or ammunition thither; having em-
“ ployed those magazines, which were provided for that
“ service, against his Majesty; inasmuch as the Privy
“ Council of that kingdom had sent to his Majesty,
“ that he would provide some other way for the preserv-
“ ation of that kingdom, since they could not be able
“ to support the war any longer, against the united
“ power of the rebels: that all overtures, which his
“ Majesty had made towards peace, had been reject-
“ ed by the Parliament; and one hundred thousand
“ pounds, brought in by the adventurers for Ireland,
“ had been sent in one entire sum into Scotland, to pre-
“ pare and dispose that kingdom to send an army to in-
“ vade this; which they had done; and till then his
“ Majesty had not, in the least degree, swerved from
“ the observation of that Act of Parliament: but when
“ he saw that the Parliament, instead of prosecuting the
“ end and intention of that statute, applied it wholly
“ to the carrying on the war against himself, he thought
“ himself absolved before God and man, if he did all
“ he could to rescue and defend himself against their
“ violence, by making a cessation with the rebels in
“ Ireland, and by drawing over some regiments of his
“ own army from thence, to assist him in England:
“ which cessation had hitherto preserved the Protestants
“ of that kingdom; who were not able without supplies
“ to preserve themselves from the strength and power
“ of the rebels; which supplies his Majesty could not,
“ and the Parliament would not, send; and therefore,
“ if the Protestants there should hereafter be oppressed
“ by the rebels, who every day procured assistance from
“ abroad, and so were like to be more powerful, all
“ the mischiefs and misery that must attend them
“ would,

" would, before God and man, be put to the account
 " of the Parliament; which had defrauded them of
 " those supplies, which, by his Majesty's care, had been
 " raised and provided for them; and not to his Ma-
 " jesty, who had done nothing but what he was obliged
 " to do for his own preservation; and if he had not
 " sent for those soldiers from Ireland, they could not have
 " stayed there without a supply of money, clothes, and
 " provisions; which the Parliament had not yet sent to
 " that part of the army which remained there, and
 " which could by no other way have subsisted, but by
 " the benefit and security of the cessation."

He told them, " that all this unjustifiable way of
 " proceeding, though it had compelled the King to
 " yield to a cessation, yet could not prevail with him to
 " make a peace with the Irish rebels; from whom he
 " had admitted commissioners to attend him with pro-
 " positions to that purpose; but that, when he found
 " those propositions and demands so unreasonable, that
 " he could not consent to them in conscience, and that
 " they were inconsistent with the security of his Protest-
 " ant subjects there, he had totally rejected them, and
 " dismissed their commissioners with severe and sharp
 " animadversions: yet that he had given his Lieute-
 " nant and Council there authority to continue the ces-
 " sation longer, in hope that the rebels there might be
 " reduced to better temper; or that his Majesty might
 " be enabled by a happy peace here, which he hoped
 " this treaty would produce, to chastise their odious and
 " obstinate rebellion: and if the Parliament would yet
 " give his Majesty sufficient caution, that the war
 " shall be vigorously prosecuted there against the
 " Irish, by sending over strong supplies of men and
 " money, he would put an end to that cessation, with-
 " out

“ out declaring it to be void ; which otherwise he could
“ not in justice do, and the doing whereof would be to
“ no purpose.”

The commissioners, visibly out of countenance and angry, made no other reply, but “ that they were sorry
“ to find that odious and detestable rebellion had received so much grace, as that commissioners from it
“ had been admitted into the King’s presence ; and that
“ they wondered there should be any scruple made of
“ declaring that cessation void, that was entered into
“ expressly against the letter of an Act of Parliament.” This reply they gave in writing, with many pathetic expressions against the murders and cruelties that had been used in the beginning of that rebellion ; which obliged the King’s commissioners to a little more sharpness in their returns than they were inclined to ; and to tell them, “ that they wished it were in the King’s power
“ to punish all rebellion with that severity that was due
“ to it ; but since it was not so, he must condescend to
“ treaties, and to all other expedients, which are necessary to reduce his subjects, who are in rebellion, to return to their duty and obedience.”

The nine first days were now spent upon the three great heads, in which there was little advance made towards giving satisfaction to either party ; for though, in the matter of religion, the King’s commissioners had made such condescensions, as would oblige bishops to be more diligent in preaching, and to be themselves present in the administration of the most important parts of their jurisdiction ; yet no such reformation was considerable to those who cared for nothing without extirpation ; and in neither of the other particulars any ground had been gotten ; and they were sensible, that, in the matter of Ireland, the King’s defence would weigh

weigh down their clamour and calumny. There happened some accidents in this time of the treaty, which made impresson on each party; the first was found in the looks of the Parliament commissioners, upon the advertisement they received, that Sir Lewis Dives, who was Governor of a small garrison in Sherborne in Dorsetshire, had from thence, in a night, upon intelligence with the King's Governor of Portland Castle, surpris'd Weymouth, a sea-port possessed by the Parliament; which was like to be attended with great benefit to the King.

But whilst the King's commissioners entertained some hope that this loss might have the more disposed the Parliament to a just peace, they received advertisement of a much greater loss sustained by the King, and which was more like to exalt the other side. Colonel Langhorn, and Mitton, two very active officers in the Parliament service, about Shropshire and North Wales, by correspondence with some townsmen and some soldiers in the garrison of Shrewsbury, from whence too many of that garrison were unhappily drawn out, two or three days before, upon some expedition, seized upon that town in the night; and, by the same treachery, likewise entered the castle; where Sir Michael Earnly, the Governor, had been long sick, and rising, upon the alarm, out of his bed, was killed in his shirt; whilst he behaved himself as well as was possible; and refused quarter; which did not shorten his life many days, he being even at the point of death by a consumption; which kept him from performing all those offices of vigilance he was accustomed to, being a gallant gentleman, who understood the office and duty of a soldier by long experience, and diligent observation. The loss of Shrewsbury was a great blow to the King, and straitened his quarters

quarters exceedingly, and broke the secure line of communication with Chester, and exposed all North Wales, Hereford, and Worcester, to the daily inroads of the enemy: and the news of this recovered the dejected spirits of the Parliament commissioners at Uxbridge.

Yet there had been an odd accident which accompanied the enterprise upon Weymouth, which gave them afterwards more trouble. Sir Lewis Dives had, in his march from Sherborne, intercepted a packet of letters sent out of Somersetshire to the Parliament; and among those there was a letter from John Pyne, a gentleman well known, and of a fair estate in that country, to Colonel Edward Popham, a principal officer of the Parliament in their fleets at sea, and of a passionate and virulent temper, of the Independent party. The subject of the letter was a bitter invective against the Earl of Essex, and all those who advanced the treaty of peace, and a great detestation of the peace, with very indecent expressions against the King himself, and all who adhered to him. This letter had been sent by Sir Lewis Dives to one of the secretaries at Oxford, and from him to the commissioners at Uxbridge; who, as soon as they received it, communicated it to some of those commissioners, who they knew desired a peace, and were very great friends to the Earl of Essex. The Scots were likewise as much inveighed against as any body else. They to whom this letter was communicated, durst not undertake to appear to know any thing of it; but advised, "that the Marquis of Hertford might send a copy of it to his brother, the Earl of Essex, with such reflections as he thought fit:" which being done accordingly, the Earl of Essex, who was yet General, took it so much to heart, that he desired the Marquis of Hertford would send him the original; which was presently

presently done ; hoping that it would have given some advantage to the Earl of Essex, towards whom the Parliament yet behaved itself with all imaginable decency and respect.

The conversation that this letter occasioned between some of the commissioners of both sides, who in private used their old freedom, made a great discovery of the faction that was in the Parliament : that there were many who desired to have peace, without any alteration in the government, so they might be sure of indemnity and security for what was past ; that the Scots would insist upon the whole government of the Church, and in all other matters would defer to the King ; but that there was another party, that would have no peace upon what conditions soever, who did resolve to change the whole frame of the government in State as well as Church ; which made a great party in the army : all those of the Parliament who desired to remove the Earl of Essex from being General of the army, and to make another General, were of that party. There was likewise among the commissioners themselves very little trust and communication ; Sir Harry Vane, Saint-John, and Prideaux, being, upon the matter, but spies upon the rest ; and though most of the rest did heartily desire a peace, even upon any terms, yet none of them had the courage to avow the receding from the most extravagant demand. Besides, there was reason enough to believe, that, if the King had yielded to all that was then proposed, they would likewise have insisted upon all which they had formerly demanded, and upon the delivery up of all those persons, who had faithfully served the King, and had been by them always excepted, as persons never to be pardoned.

For though they had assigned those three general heads,

heads, of the Church, of the Militia, and of Ireland, to be first treated upon, which were all plausible and popular arguments, and in which they who most desired peace would insist at least upon many condescensions, yet they had not, in the least degree, declined any other of their propositions; as the exemption of many of the greatest quality, or of the most declared affections to the King, in the three nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, from pardon; and the making the estates of the rest, under the name of Delinquents, liable to pay the charges of the war; from which, or any of the other very unreasonable demands, the Houses had not in their instructions given their commissioners authority in the least particle to recede: they who desired peace, being satisfied that they had prevailed to have a treaty, which they imagined would do all the rest, and that these lesser demands would fall off of themselves, when satisfaction should be given in those important particulars, which more concerned the public; and, on the other side, they who resolved the treaty should be ineffectual, were well content that their commissioners should be instructed only to insist upon those three generals, without power to depart from any one expression, in the propositions concerning those particulars; being satisfied, that in the particular which concerned the Church, the Scots would never depart from a tittle; and as sure that the King would never yield to it; and that, in the militia, they who most desired peace, would adhere to that which most concerned their own security; and in the business of Ireland, besides the opportunity to asperse the King, upon an argument in which the people generally concurred with them, they were satisfied enough; except the King should absolutely retract and recant all that he had done, and by declaring the occasion

tion void, expose all those who had a hand in it to their censure and judgment; and so dissolve all the authority he had in that kingdom for the future; which they knew he would never do. So that they were safe enough in those three heads of their treaty, without bringing any of their other demands into debate; which would have spent much time, and raised great difference in opinion among them; yet they had those still in reserve, and might reasonably conclude, that if the King satisfied them in the terms of those three propositions, he would never insist upon any of the rest; which could not relate so much to his conscience, or his honour, as the other. Besides, they knew well, that, if, by the King's condescensions, they had full satisfaction in the former three, they who had most passion for peace would, for their own shares in the particular revenge upon those men with whom they were angry enough, and in the preferments, which would be then in their disposal, never divide from them in any thing that remained to be demanded.

One night, late, the Earl of Pembroke came to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's lodging to return him a visit; and sat with him some hours; all his discourse being to persuade him to think it reasonable to consent to all that the Parliament had demanded. He told him, "that there was never such a pack of knaves and villains, as they who now governed in the Parliament; "who would so far prevail, if this treaty were broke off, "as to remove the Earl of Essex; and then they would "constitute such an army as should force the Parliament, as well as the King, to consent to whatsoever "they demanded; which would end in the change of "the government into a commonwealth." The Chancellor told him, "if he believed that, it was high time
"for

"for the lords to look about them, who would be then
 "no less concerned than the King." He confessed it,
 and "that they were now sensible, that they had brought
 "this mischief upon themselves; and did heartily re-
 "pent it, though too late; and when they were in no
 "degree able to prevent the general destruction which
 "they foresaw: but if the King would be so gracious
 "to them, as to preserve them, by consenting to those
 "unreasonable propositions which were made by the
 "Parliament, the other wicked persons would be disap-
 "pointed by such his concessions; the Earl of Essex
 "would still keep his power; and they should be able,
 "in a short time after the peace concluded, by adhering
 "to the King, whom they would never forsake here-
 "after, to recover all for him that he now parted with,
 "and to drive these wicked men, who would destroy
 "momentarily, out of the kingdom; and then his Ma-
 "jesty would be greater than ever." How extravagant
 soever this discourse seems to be, the matter of it was
 the same, which the wisest of the rest, and there were
 men of very good parts among them, did seriously urge
 to others of the King's commissioners, with whom they
 had the same confidence: so broken they were in their
 spirits, and so corrupted in their understanding, even
 when they had their own rule in their view.

The Earl of Northumberland, who was the greatest
 man alive, could not look upon the offer of such an
 archy, and he thought the dignity was already re-
 duced to, and which must be then diminished, when they
 pleaded: for he would be had formerly received an
 Order, upon his admission thither, and that Order being
 he had made known from the palace of White Hall
 that, but thought it fit upon him that he should
 do more to support the one or to preserve the other.

other, and was willing to see the King's power and authority so much restrained, that he might not be able to do him any harm.

The Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury were so totally without credit or interest in the Parliament or country, that it was no matter which way their inclinations or affections disposed them; and their fear of the faction that prevailed was so much greater than their hatred towards them, that though they wished they might rather be destroyed than the King, they had rather the King and his posterity should be destroyed, than that Wilton should be taken from the one of them, or Hatfield from the other; the preservation of both which from any danger, they both believed to be the highest point of prudence and politic circumspection.

The Earl of Denbigh had much greater parts, and saw farther before him into the desperate designs of that party that had then the power, than either of the other three, and detested those designs as much as any of them; yet the pride of his nature, not inferior to the proudest, and the conscience of his ingratitude to the King, in some respects superior to theirs who had been most obliged, kept him from being willing to quit the company with whom he had conversed too long. Though he had received from them most signal affronts and indignities, and well knew he should never more be employed by them, yet he thought the King's condition to be utterly desperate, and that he would be at last compelled to yield to worse conditions than were now offered to him. He conferred with so much freedom with one of the King's commissioners, and spent so much time with him in the vacant hours, there having been formerly a great friendship between them, that he drew some jealousy upon himself from some of his companions.

panions. With him he lamented his own condition, and acknowledged his disloyalty to the King, with expressions of great compunction; and protested, “that he would most willingly redeem his transgressions by any attempt that might serve the King signally, though he were sure to lose his life in it; but that to lose himself, without any benefit to the King, would expose him to all misery; which he would decline, by not separating from his party.” He informed him more fully of the wicked purposes of those who then governed the Parliament, than others apprehended or imagined; and had a full prospect of the vile condition himself and all the nobility should be reduced to; yet thought it impossible to prevent it by any authority of their own; and concluded, “that if any conjuncture fell out, in which, by losing his life, he might preserve the King, he would embrace the occasion; otherwise, he would shift the best he could for himself.”

Of the commissioners of the House of Commons, though, the three named before being excepted, the rest did in their hearts desire a peace, and upon much honester conditions than they durst own; yet there were not two of them who had entire confidence in each other, or who durst communicate their thoughts together: so that though they could speak their minds freely enough, severally, to those commissioners of the King’s side with whom they had former friendship, they would not, in the presence of any of their own companions, use that freedom. The debate, that had been in the House, upon the *self-denying ordinance*, had raised so many jealousies, and discomposed the confidence that had formerly been between many of them, that they knew not what any man intended to do; many who

had, from the beginning of the troubles, professed to have most devotion for the Earl of Essex, and to abhor all his enemies, had lately seemed to concur in that ordinance, which was contrived principally for his dishonour and destruction; and others, who seemed still to adhere to him, did it with so many cautions, that there could be no confidence of their perseverance.

Hollis, who was the frankest among them in owning his animosity and indignation against all the Independent party, and was no otherwise affected to the Presbyterians, than as they constituted a party upon which he depended to oppose the other, did foresee that many of those who appeared most resolute to concur with him would, by degrees, fall from him purely for want of courage, in which he abounded. Whitlock, who, from the beginning, had concurred with them without any inclinations to their persons or their principles, had the same reason still not to separate from them. All his estate was in their quarters, and he had a nature that could not bear or submit to be undone: though to his friends, who were commissioners for the King, he used his old openness, and professed his detestation of all the proceedings of his party, yet could not leave them. Pierpoint and Crew, who were both men of great fortunes, and had always been of the greatest moderation in their counsels, and most solicitous upon all opportunities for peace, appeared now to have contracted more bitterness and sourness than formerly; and were more reserved towards the King's commissioners than was expected; and in all conferences insisted peremptorily, "that the King must yield to whatsoever was required
"in the three demands which had been debated." They all valued themselves "upon having induced the Parliament, against all opposition, to consent to a treaty;
"which

- “ which producing no effect, they should hereafter
 “ have no more credit;” and it plainly appeared, that
 they had persuaded themselves, that, in the treaty, they
 should be able to persuade the King’s commissioners to
 concur with them; and that the King would yield upon
 the very same argument and expectation, that the Earl
 of Pembroke had offered to the Chancellor of the Ex-
 chequer.

Some of them, who knew how impossible it was to
 prevail with the commissioners, or, if they could be
 corrupted so far in their judgments, how much more
 impossible it would be to persuade the King to consent
 to what was so diametrically against his conscience and
 his honour, and, in truth, against his security, did
 wish, “ that, to get the time of the treaty prolonged,
 “ some concessions might be made in the point of the
 “ militia, in order to their security; which being pro-
 “ vided for might probably take off many persons,
 “ who, out of that consideration principally, adhered to
 “ those who they thought were most jealous of it, and
 “ most solicitous for it.” This seemed such an expe-
 dient to those to whom they proposed it, that they
 thought fit to make a debate among all the commis-
 sioners about it; “ and if it should produce no other
 “ effect, than the getting more days to the treaty, and
 “ making more divisions in the Parliament, both which
 “ they might naturally expect from it, the benefit was not
 “ small that would attend it; for, as long as the treaty
 “ lasted, there could be little advance made towards
 “ new modelling the army, the delay whereof would
 “ give the King likewise more time to make his prepa-
 “ rations for the field; towards which he was in no
 “ forwardness.” This consideration prevailed with the
 commissioners to send their opinion to the King, “ that

“ he would give them leave to propose, when the next
“ day came for the debate of the point of the militia,
“ that the whole militia of the kingdom should be set-
“ tled in such a number of persons, for seven or eight
“ years, who might be all sworn to the observation of
“ all the articles which should be agreed upon in the
“ treaty; after the expiration of which time, which
“ would be sufficient to extinguish all jealousies, it
“ should be restored to the King.” And they sent the
King a list of such names, as they wished might be in-
serted in the proposition, of persons in credit with the
Parliament, to which his Majesty might add the like
number of such, of whose fidelity he was most as-
sured.

The Earls of Essex, Northumberland, Warwick, and
Manchester, with Fairfax and Cromwell, were among
those they recommended to be named by the King.
With this message they sent two of their own body,
who added other reasons, which they conceived might
prevail with him; and it was with great difficulty that
his Majesty was prevailed with to consent that such an
overture should be made. But being unwilling to dis-
sent from his commissioners' judgment, and believing it
would be rejected, and in hope that it would gain time
by lengthening the treaty, his Majesty was contented,
that the commissioners should make such an offer as is
mentioned, and name the persons they had proposed of
the Parliament party; and withal, he sent a list of such
persons as himself thought fit to trust in that affair; in
whom, together with the others, he would have the
power of the militia to be vested. But by this time,
the term assigned for the treaty drawing towards an end,
they who had first advised this expedient, had not the
same opinion of the success; and had plainly discovered,
that

that the Parliament would not consent to add one day more to the treaty. So the farther prosecution of the overture in that manner was laid aside. For the King's commissioners concluded, "that at this time to offer
 " any particular names from the King to be trusted
 " with the militia, was but to expose those persons to
 " reproach, as some of them were very ungracious and
 " unpopular to them; and to give the other side an excuse for rejecting the offer, upon exception to their
 " persons." However, that they might see a greater condescension from the King in that point, than he had ever yet been induced to, they offered, "that the militia should
 " be so settled for the space of seven years, as they had
 " desired, in such a number of persons as should be
 " agreed upon; a moiety of which persons should be
 " nominated by the King, and the other moiety by the
 " Parliament:" which was rejected by them with their usual neglect.

From this time the commissioners, on both sides, grew more reserved, and colder towards each other; in-
 somuch as in the last conferences the answers and re-
 plies upon one another were sharper and more reflect-
 ing than they had formerly been: and in their confer-
 ence upon the last day, which held most part of the night:
 it was evident, either side laboured most to make the other
 seem to be most in fault. The King's commissioners de-
 livered a paper, which contained a sum of all that had
 been done in the treaty, and observed, "that in the
 " war of so many years, entered into, as was the case
 " for the defence and vindication of the
 " land, and the liberty of the subject:
 " twenty days, they had not demanded
 " that, by the law of the land, they should
 " demand; but insisted only on their own

“ against law, and the established government of the kingdom; and that much more had been offered to them for the obtaining of peace, than they could with justice or reason require:” with which they were so offended, that they, for some time, refused to receive the paper, upon pretence, “ that the time for the treaty was expired;” because it was then after twelve of the clock of the night of the twentieth day: but at last they were contented to receive it, finding that it would not be less public, and would more reflect upon them, if they rejected it: and so they parted, a little before the break of day.

The end of
the treaty
without ef-
fect.

The next day, being Sunday, they rested in the town, that they might in the afternoon decently take their leaves of each other; though Monday, according to the letter of their pass, was the last day of their freedom. and at that season of the year their journey to Oxford might require two days, as they had spent two days in coming thither; and the commissioners for the Parliament had given them a paper, in which they declared, “ that they might safely make use of another day for their return, of which no advantage should be taken.” But they having on Sunday performed their mutual visits to each other, parted with such coolness towards each other, as if they scarce hoped to meet again; and the King’s commissioners were so unwilling to run any hazard, that they were on the Monday morning so early in their coaches, that they came to Oxford that night, and kissed the King’s hand; who received them very graciously; thanking them for the pains they had taken. Surely the pains they had taken, with how little success soever, was very great; and they who had been most inured to business, had not in their lives ever undergone so great fatigue for twenty days together, as at that treaty.

treaty. The commissioners seldom parted, during that whole time, till two or three of the clock in the morning. Besides, they were obliged to sit up later who were to prepare such papers as were directed for the next day, and to write letters to Oxford; so that if the treaty had continued much longer, it is very probable many of the commissioners must have fallen sick for want of sleep; which some of them were not satisfied with in three or four days after their return to Oxford. Thus ended the treaty of Uxbridge, the particulars whereof were, by the King's command, shortly after published in print, and never contradicted by the Parliament.

The King spoke to those he trusted most at that time, with much more melancholy of his own condition, and the state of his affairs, than he had used to do. The loss of Shrewsbury was attended with many ill consequences; and that which had seemed to bring some kind of recompense for it, the surprise of Weymouth, proved but a dream; for the enemy had lost but one part of the town, which they, in a short time after, recovered again by the usual negligence of the King's governors. So that his Majesty told them, "he found it absolutely necessary to pursue his former resolution of separating the Prince his son from himself, that the enemy might not, upon any success, find them together; which, he said, would be ruin to them both; whereas, though he should fall into their hands whilst his son was at liberty, they would not dare to do him harm." He seemed to have very reasonable apprehensions, that upon the loss of a battle he might become a prisoner; but he never imagined, that it would enter into their thought to take away his life; not that he believed they could be restrained from that impious act by any remorse of conscience, or that they had not wickedness enough to

design

design and execute it: but he believed it against their interest; and would often, in discourse, say, "of what moment the preservation of his life was to the rebels: and how much they were concerned to preserve it, in regard, that if he himself were dead, the Parliament stood dissolved; so that there would be an end of their government:" which, though it were true in law, would have little shaken their power, of which they were too long possessed to part with it easily.

This was a speculation of that nature, that nobody had reason to endeavour to change the King's opinion in that particular; and his Majesty thought of nothing so much as hastening the Prince's journey; and to that purpose commanded those who were appointed to attend him to be ready by a short day, resolving that his Highness should make his journey directly to Bristol, and continue his residence there, till some emergent alteration should make his remove from thence necessary. For whatever discourse was made of raising an army in the West, the King had no purpose to put the Prince into the head of any such army; and though Goring had prevailed to be sent, with a strong party of horse, and some foot, into Hampshire, upon pretence of securing the West from Waller's incursion, and upon some other design; yet the King had not the least purpose, that he should be where the Prince was; though he was not himself without that design at that present, as shall be made out anon, meaning by that device to withdraw himself from the command of Prince Rupert, which the King did not apprehend. But his Majesty having no more in his purpose than is said before, he sent the Lord Hopton to Bristol to provide a house for his Highness, and to put that city into as good a posture of security for the Prince's residence as was necessary; nor

was there any other strength designed to attend about his Highness's person, than one regiment of horse, and one regiment of foot, for his guards, both to be under the command of the Lord Capel; who was likewise to raise them upon his own credit and interest; there being, at that time, not one man raised of horse or foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor, indeed, for the support of the Prince's family, or his person. In so great scarcity and poverty was the King himself, and his Court at Oxford.

There happened an accident at this time, that reconciled the minds of many to this journey of the Prince into the West, and looked like a good omen that it would produce good effects; though it proved afterwards an occasion of much trouble and inconvenience. When the King returned through Somersetshire, after the defeat of the Earl of Essex in Cornwall, there had been a petition delivered to him, in the names of the gentry, clergy, freeholders, and others his Majesty's Protestant subjects of the county of Somerset, in which they desired, "that his Majesty would give them leave
 "to petition the Parliament, that there might be a treaty
 "for peace; and that they might have liberty to wait
 "upon his Majesty in person in his march; and that,
 "when they came to a nearer distance, they might then
 "go before, and deliver their petition; and if they
 "should not obtain their so just request, they would
 "then assist his Majesty to get that by the sword, which
 "could be obtained no other way." To that purpose, they desired leave "to put themselves in arms, to
 "attend his Majesty in the journey." This petition, how indigested, or impracticable soever in the manner and way proposed, was contrived by some persons of unquestionable fidelity to the King; who thought, that,
 under

under this specious title of petitioners for peace, they might draw even that whole populous county to appeal for the King; and therefore the King gave them a gracious reception, and liberty to do all that they desired, believing it possible, that he might even from them recruit his foot, which he most desired. But his Majesty's speedy march left that design to be better weighed and digested.

Upon the first fame of the Prince's being to visit the West, and to keep his Court there, some gentlemen, of the best quality in the West, came to Oxford, as entrusted by the rest to acquaint his Majesty, "that they had now formed the design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four western counties, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, had resolved to enter into an association, and to be joint petitioners to the Parliament for peace: and that their petition should be sent by very many thousands of the most substantial freeholders of the several counties, who should have money enough in their purses to defray their charges, going and returning; and whosoever refused to join in the petition, should be looked upon as enemies to peace and their country, and accordingly treated; so that this address could not but have great influence upon the Parliament, being under the style of one and all; and could not but be looked upon as such." They desired the King, "that the Prince might be made General of this association; in order to which, they would provide for his support according to his dignity; and, in the first place, take care for the raising a good guard of horse and foot, for the safety of his person."

Though this design, in the notions thereof, was as unpracticable as the former, yet his Majesty thought

not

not fit to discountenance and reject it. It was very vehemently pressed by many persons of quality, in the name of the four western counties, and among those who took it most to heart, Sir John Stawel was the chief; a gentleman of one of the largest estates that any man possessed in the West, who had, from the beginning of the Parliament, shewed very great affection to the person of the King, and to the government that was settled, both in Church and State; and from the beginning of the war had engaged both his own person, and his two sons, in the most active part of it, with singular courage; and had rendered himself as odious to the Parliament, as any man of that condition had done. This gentleman was assisted and counselled by Mr. Fountain, a lawyer of eminency, who had been imprisoned, and banished London, for his declared affection to the Crown; and they two had first entertained and formed this project in their own thoughts, and then, upon the communication of it with some gentlemen, and more of the farmers and freeholders of the county, found such a general concurrence with them, that they concluded it could not but have good success, and would bring the Parliament to be glad of peace. They were both very tenacious of what they had once resolved, and believed all who objected against their undertaking to be averse from peace; so that the King concluded, that he would so far comply with them, as to make the Prince General of their association, which he was sure could do no harm; and they were so much delighted with the condescension, that they promised speedily to make provision for the Prince's support, and for the raising his guards of horse and foot; and to that purpose made haste to Bristol, that all things might be ready against the Prince came thither.

Upon

The Prince
of Wales
made Gene-
ral of the
King's
forces, and
of the
western
association.

Upon these reasons, the Prince had two commissions granted to him; one, to be General of the association, and another, to be General of all the King's forces in England. For when the King declared his nephew Prince Rupert to be General, in the place of the Earl of Brentford, his Highness desired, "that there might be no General in England but the Prince of Wales; and that he might receive his commission from him;" which his Majesty took well; and so that commission of Generalissimo was likewise given to the Prince, when in truth it was resolved he should act no part in either, but remain quiet in Bristol, till the fate of all armies could be better discerned.

The indisposition and melancholy which possessed the Court at Oxford, and all the King's party, was preserved from despair only by the extraordinary discontents and animosities in the Parliament; which kept them from pursuing the advantages they had had by united counsels. As soon as the commissioners were returned from Uxbridge, and that a treaty could be now no farther urged, the Independent party (for so they were now contented to be called, in opposition to the other, which was styled Presbyterian) appeared bare-faced, and vigorously pressed on their *self-denying ordinance*, that so they might proceed towards modelling their new army, by putting out the old officers; during the suspension whereof, there was no care for providing for the troops they had, or making recruits, or preparing any of those provisions which would be necessary for taking the field. They were now entered into the month of March, which was used as a strong argument by both parties, the one urging, "from the season of the year, the necessity of expediting their resolution for the passing the ordinance, that the army might be put into a posture of
" march.

“ marching;” the other pressing, “ that so great an alteration ought not to be attempted, when there was so short a time to make it in: that there would be apparent danger, that the enemy would find them, without any army at all fit to take the field;” and therefore desired, “ that all things might stand as they were till the end of the next campaign; when, if they saw cause, they might resume this expedient.” The other party were loud against the delay, and said, “ that was the way to make the war last; for managed as it had been, they should be found at the end of the next campaign in the same posture they were now in; whereas they made no doubt but, if this ordinance was passed, they should proceed so vigorously, that the next campaign should put an end to the war.”

The debate continued many days in the House of Commons, with much passion, and sharp reflections upon things and persons; whilst the House of Peers looked on, and attended the resolution below. Of the Presbyterian party, which passionately opposed the ordinance, the chief were, Hollis, Stapleton, Glin, Waller, Long, and others, who believed their party much superior in number; as the Independent party was led by Nathaniel Fiennes, Vane, Cromwell, Haslerig, Martin, and others, who spoke more and warmer than they that opposed them. Of the House of Peers, there was none thought to be of this last party but the Lord Say; all the rest were supposed to be of the Earl of Essex's party; and so, that it was impossible that the ordinance should ever pass in the House of Peers, though it should be carried by the Commons. But they were in this, as in many other things, disappointed; for many, who had sat silent, and been thought to have been of one party, appeared to be of the other. They who

thought they could never be secure in any peace, except the King were first at their mercy, and so obliged to accept the conditions they would give him, were willing to change the hand in carrying on the war; and many, who thought the Earl of Essex behaved himself too imperiously, were willing to have the command in one who was more their equal. Many were willing he should be angered and humbled, that himself might be more concerned to advance a peace, which he had not been forward enough to do, whilst he held the supreme command.

When the debate grew ripe, Saint-John, Pierpoint, Whitlock, and Crew, who had been thought to be of the party of the Earl of Essex, appeared for passing the ordinance, as the only way to unite their counsels, and to resist the common enemy; saying, "they discovered "by what they heard abroad, and by the spirit that "governed in the city, that there would be a general "dissatisfaction in the people, if this ordinance were "not passed." Then they fell into a high admiration of the Earl of Essex, extolling his great merit, and seemed to fear, "that the war would never be carried on "so happily as it had been under him; or if it were, "that the good success must be still imputed to his "conduct and courage, which had formed their armies, "and taught them to fight." By this kind of oratory, and professing to decline their own inclinations and wishes, purely for peace and unity, they so far prevailed over those who were still surprised, and led by some craft, that the ordinance was passed in the House of Commons, and transmitted to the Peers for their consent; where nobody imagined it would ever pass.

The Self-
denying
Ordinance
passes the
Commons.

After the battle at York, and that the Earl of Manchester was required to march with his army against the King,

King, upon the defeat of the Earl of Effex in Cornwall, the Scottish army marched northwards, to reduce the little garrisons remaining in those parts ; which was easily done. After which they marched to Newcastle, which, being defended only by the townsmen, and in no degree fortified for a siege, was given up to them, after as good a resistance as could be made in such a place, and by such people. So that they having no more to do in those parts, the Parliament thought not fit however to dismiss them to return into their own country, not knowing yet how far their new modelled army would be able to carry on all their designs. And therefore the Scottish army was again advanced as far as York, and was to be applied as there should be occasion.

The King had formerly, towards the end of the year forty-three, considered how to give such a disturbance to Scotland, as might oblige their army to stay at home to quench a fire in their own country ; but all the advance which had been made towards the execution of that design, in the conferences with the Earl of Mountrose, and in the commitment of Duke Hamilton, had been checked for some time by the King's not being able to give any troops to that Earl, by the protection whereof the loyal party of that kingdom might come to his assistance, and discover their affection to his Majesty. Notwithstanding which, the vigorous spirit of the Earl of Mountrose had stirred him up to make some attempt, whether he had any help or no. The person whom that Earl most hated and contemned was the Marquis of Argyle, who had then the chief government of Scotland ; and though he was a man endued with all the faculties of craft and dissimulation that were necessary to bring great designs to effect, and had, in respect of his estate and authority, a very great interest in

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trose's expe-
dition into
Scotland.

that kingdom ; yet he had no martial qualities, nor the reputation of more courage, than insolent and imperious persons, whilst they meet with no opposition, are used to have.

The Earl of Mountrose believed that his getting safely into Scotland was much more difficult than it would be to raise men enough there to control the authority of Argyle. There was at that time at Oxford, the Earl of Antrim, remarkable for nothing, but for having married the dowager of the great Duke of Buckingham, within few years after the death of that favourite. By the possession of her ample fortune, he had lived in the court in great expence and some lustre, until his riot had contracted so great a debt, that he was necessitated to leave the kingdom, and to retire to his own fortune in Ireland, (which was very fair), together with his wife, who gave him reputation, being a lady, besides her own great extraction and fortune, as heircs to the house of Rutland, and wife and mother to the Dukes of Buckingham, of a very great wit and spirit; and made the mean parts of her present husband (a handsome man too) well enough received in all places: so that they had lived in Ireland in splendour, as they might well do, till that rebellion drove the lady again from thence, to find a livelihood out of her own estate in England. And upon the Queen's first coming to Oxford, she likewise came thither; where she found great respect from all. The Earl of Antrim, who was a man of excessive pride and vanity, and of a very weak and narrow understanding, was no sooner without the counsel and company of his wife, than he betook himself to the rebels, with an imagination that his quality and fortune would give him the supreme power over them; which, probably, he never intended to employ to the

the prejudice of the King, but desired to appear so considerable, that he might be looked upon as a greater man than the Marquis of Ormond; which was so uneasy and torturing an ambition to him, that it led him into several faults and follies. The rebels were glad of his presence, and to have his name known to be among them, but had no confidence in his abilities to advise or command them; but relied much more upon his brother, Alexander Macdonnel, who was fast to their party, and in their most secret counsels.

The Earl, according to his natural unsteadiness, did not like his station there, but, by disguise, got himself into the Protestant quarters, and from thence into England, and so to Oxford, where his wife then was, and made his presence not unacceptable; the King not having then notice of his having ever been among the Irish rebels; but he pretended to have great credit and power in Ireland to serve the King, and to dispose the Irish to a peace, if he should have any countenance from the King; which his Majesty knew him too well to think him capable of. Whether the Earl of Antrim had his original extraction in Scotland, or the Marquis of Argyle his in Ireland, must be left to the determination of those that are skilled in the genealogy of the family of the Macdonnells; to the superiority whereof they both pretend; and the Earl of Antrim, to much of those lands in the Highlands of Scotland, which were possessed by Argyle; and the greatest part of his estate in Ireland was in that part of Ulster that lies next Scotland, and his dependents near of the same language and manner of living with the Highlanders of Scotland. The knowledge of this disposed the Earl of Mountrose to make a great acquaintance with him as soon as he came to Oxford, and to consult with him, whether it

might not be possible to draw a body of men out of Ireland to be such a foundation for raising forces in Scotland, as might advance the enterprize he had so long in his heart; it being notorious enough that the Highlanders in Scotland had very good affections for the King; and desired nothing more than to free themselves from the hard slavery they had long endured under the tyranny of Argyle. The passage over the sea in those places, between Scotland and Ireland, is so narrow, that the people often make their markets in one and the other in the space of few hours; and the hardness of both people is such, that they have no delight in the superfluity of diet or clothing, or the great commodity of lodging; and were very fit to constitute an army that was not to depend upon any supplies of money, or arms, or victual, but what they could easily provide for themselves, by the dexterity that is universally practised in those parts.

The Earl of Antrim, who was naturally a great undertaker, and desired nothing so much, as that the King should believe him to be a man of interest and power in Ireland, was highly exalted, when he discovered by the Earl of Mountrose, that he was thought to have credit enough in that part of Ireland to perform a service for the King, which he never before entertained a thought of. So that he presently undertook to the Earl of Mountrose, "that, if the King would grant him a commission, he would raise an army in Ireland, and transport it into Scotland; and would himself be in the head of it; by means whereof he believed all the clan of the Macdonnells in the Highlands of Scotland might be persuaded to follow him." When the Earl of Mountrose had formed such a reasonable undertaking, as he believed the Earl of Antrim might in truth be able

to comply with, he acquainted the Lord Digby with it, who was a friend to all difficult designs, and desired him
 “ to propose it to the King, and to let his Majesty
 “ know, that he was so confident of the Earl of An-
 “ trim’s being able to perform what should be necessary,
 “ (for he would be very well content, if he would send
 “ over a body but of two thousand men into Scotland,
 “ which he well knew he could easily do), that he would
 “ himself be in the Highlands to receive them, and run
 “ his fortune with them, if his Majesty would give him
 “ leave to gather up such a number of his countrymen
 “ about Oxford, as would be willing to accompany him ;
 “ with whom he would make his way thither ; and that,
 “ if no time were lost in prosecuting this design, he did
 “ hope, that by the time the Scottish army should be
 “ ready to take the field, they should receive such an
 “ alarm from their own country, as should hinder their
 “ advance.”

Upon this overture, the King conferred with the two Earls together ; and finding the Earl of Antrim forward to undertake the raising as many men as should be desired, if he might have the King’s commission to that purpose ; and knowing well, that he had, in that part of the kingdom, interest enough to do it ; and the Earl of Mountrose as confidently assuring his Majesty, “ that
 “ with two thousand men landed in the Highlands, he
 “ would quickly raise an army, with which he could dis-
 “ quiet that kingdom ;” and the design being more probable than any other that could be proposed to the same purpose, his Majesty resolved to encourage it all he could, that is, to give it countenance ; for he had neither money, nor arms, nor ammunition, to contribute to it in any degree. The great objection that appeared at the first entrance into it was, “ that though the Earl of An-
 “ trim

" trim had power in Ulster, and among the Romas
 " Catholics, he was very odious to the Protestants, and
 " obnoxious to the State at Dublin, many things being
 " discovered against him of his correspondence with the
 " rebels, which were not known when he came into
 " England." But that which gave most umbrage (for
 nobody suspected his conjunction with the rebels) was
 his declared " malice to the Lord Lieutenant, the Mar-
 " quis of Ormond, and the contempt the Marquis had
 " of him, who would therefore undervalue any propo-
 " sition should be made by him, being a man of so no-
 " torious a levity and inconstancy, that he did not use
 " to intend the same thing long. There could be no
 " trusting him with any commission independent upon
 " the Marquis of Ormond, or allowing him to do any
 " thing in Ireland without the Marquis's privity, and
 " such a limitation would by no means be grateful to
 " him. And though the benefit the King's friends in
 " Scotland would receive by the carrying away any body
 " of men out of Ulster, would be a great lessening and
 " abatement of the strength of the Irish rebels, who had
 " the command over those parts; yet if the Earl of An-
 " trim, under any authority from the King, should in-
 " discreetly behave himself, (as no man who loved him
 " best had any confidence in his discretion), all the re-
 " proaches cast upon his Majesty, of his countenancing
 " those rebels, would receive the greatest confirmation
 " imaginable."

The foresight of these difficulties gave life to an in-
 trigue in the Court, which for some time had not suc-
 ceeded. Daniel O'Neile (who was in subtlety and under-
 standing much superior to the whole nation of the old
 Irish) had long laboured to be of the Bedchamber to
 the King. He was very well known to the Court,
 having

having spent many years between that and the Low Countries, the winter season in the one; and the summer always in the army in the other; as good an education towards advancement in the world as that age knew. He had a fair reputation in both climates, having a competent fortune of his own to support himself without dependence, and a natural insinuation and address, which made him acceptable in the best company. He was a great observer and discernor of men's natures and humours, and was very dexterous in compliance where he found it useful. As soon as the troubles begun in Scotland, he had, with the first, the command of a troop of horse; to which he was by all men held very equal, having had good experience in the most active armies of that time, and a courage very notorious. And though his inclinations were naturally to ease and luxury, his industry was indefatigable, when his honour required it, or his particular interest, which he was never without, and to which he was very indulgent, made it necessary or convenient.

In the second troubles in Scotland he had a greater command, and some part in most of the intrigues of the Court, and was in great confidence with those who most designed the destruction of the Earl of Strafford; against whom he had contracted some prejudice in the behalf of his nation: yet when the Parliament grew too impetuous, he entered very frankly into those new designs, which were contrived at Court, with less circumspection than both the season and the weight of the affair required. And in this combination, in which men were most concerned for themselves, and to receive good recompense for the adventures they made, he had either been promised, or at least encouraged by the Queen, to hope to be made Groom of the Bedchamber, when a vacancy

vacancy should happen. When the civil war began, he, being then in the Low Countries, having made an escape out of the Tower, where he stood committed by the Parliament upon a charge of high treason, chose rather to be lieutenant colonel of horse to Prince Rupert, than the name of a greater officer, which he might well have pretended to; presuming that, by his dexterity, he should have such an interest in that young Prince, as might make his relation to him superior to those who had greater titles. He had the misfortune, at the first coming of the Prince, to have credit with him to make some impressions and prejudices, which he would have been glad afterwards to have removed, when he saw others had credit likewise to build upon those foundations, which he hoped to have had the sole authority to have supervised and directed. When he saw some of his fraternity promoted to offices and honours, who had not ventured or suffered more than he, (for if he had not made his escape out of the Tower very dexterously in a lady's dress, he had been in manifest danger of his life), and whose pretences were not better founded, than upon the promises made at the same time, when he had promised himself to be of the Bedchamber, he now pressed likewise to be admitted into that attendance; and the Queen had been very solicitous with the King on his behalf, being conscious to herself, that he had been encouraged by her to hope it. But the King could by no means be prevailed with to receive him, having contracted a prejudice against him with reference to the Earl of Strafford, or upon some other reason, which could not be removed by all his friends, or by the Queen herself; who therefore bid him expect a better conjuncture. This O'Neile took very heavily; and the more, because his condition in the army was less pleasant

to

to him, by Prince Rupert's withdrawing his graces from him.

The design of the Earls of Mountrose and Antrim, which was yet wholly managed with the King by the Lord Digby, who was likewise of intimate friendship with O'Neile, gave him opportunity to set this pretence again on foot. It was generally known that O'Neile, whether by alliance, or friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl of Antrim than any man; and that by the ascendant he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his nature, in which he was superior to most men, he could persuade him very much; and it was as notorious, that the Marquis of Ormond loved O'Neile very well, and had much esteem for him. Upon this ground the Lord Digby told the King, "that he had thought of an expedient, which he
" did believe might relieve him in the perplexities he
" sustained concerning the conduct of the Earl of An-
" trim;" and then proposed "the sending O'Neile
" with him; who should first dissuade him from affecting
" to have any commission himself to act in Ireland; and
" then incline him to depend upon the assistance and au-
" thority of the Marquis of Ormond; who should be
" required by the King to contribute all he could for
" the making those levies of men, and for impressing
" of ships, and other vessels, for their transportation into
" the Highlands; and then that he should go over
" himself with the Earl, and stay with him during his
" abode in Dublin; by which he might begin and pre-
" serve a good intelligence between him and the Mar-
" quis of Ormond; and dispose the Marquis of Or-
" mond to gratify him in all things that might con-
" cern so important a service; which, besides the letters
" he should carry with him from the King, his own
" credit

“credit with the Marquis, and his singular address
“would easily bring to pass.”

This proposition was very agreeable to the King, who knew O’Neile was equal to this business; and the Lord Digby did not in the least insinuate any design for O’Neile’s advantage in the service, which would have diverted the negotiation: thereupon his Majesty himself spoke to him of the whole design, the Lord Digby desiring he would do so, pretending that he had not communicated any part of it to him, being not sure of his Majesty’s approbation. He received it as a thing he had never thought of; and when the King asked him, “whether he thought the Earl had interest enough
“in those parts of Ireland to levy and transport a body
“of men into the Highlands?” he answered readily,
“that he knew well, that there were so many there,
“where the Earl’s estate lay, who depended absolutely
“upon him, that there would be men enough ready to
“go thither, or do what he required them: and that
“the men were hardy and stout for any service: but
“the drawing a body of them together, and transport-
“ing them, would require, he doubted, more power
“than the Earl himself had, or could be master of.
“He said, there were two objections in view, and a
“third that he was not willing for many reasons to
“make. The first was, that nothing of that nature
“could be done without the authority and power of the
“Marquis of Ormond, which, no doubt, would be ap-
“plied to any purpose his Majesty should direct; yet
“that the Earl of Antrim had behaved himself so in-
“discreetly towards the Marquis, and so unhandfomely
“disobliged him, that it could not but be the severest
“command his Majesty could lay upon the Marquis,
“to enter into any kind of conjunction or conversation
“with

“ with that Earl. The second was, that, though the
 “ Earl’s interest could make as many men as he desired
 “ to enter into any action or engagement he would pre-
 “ scribe, he much doubted the Irish Commander in
 “ Chief, who had the military power of those parts,
 “ would hardly permit a body of those men, which
 “ they reckoned their best soldiers, to be transported;
 “ and thereby their own strength to be lessened ;” which
 was an objection of weight, and not mentioned before to
 the King, nor considered by him. He said “ he was
 “ unwilling to make another objection, which reflected
 “ upon a person so dear to him, and for whom he would
 “ at any time lay down his life ; which was, that he
 “ much feared the Earl of Antrim had not steadiness of
 “ mind enough to go through with such an undertak-
 “ ing, which otherwise would be as easy as honour-
 “ able.”

The King, well satisfied with the discourse he made,
 told him, “ that he was not himself without the same
 “ apprehensions he had, and knew but one way to se-
 “ cure the business, if he would undertake the journey
 “ with him, by which all his fears would be composed ;
 “ his counsel would govern the Earl in all things, and
 “ his credit with the Marquis of Ormond, which should
 “ be improved by his Majesty’s recommendation, would
 “ prevent any prejudice in him towards the Earl.” The
 King added, “ that the service itself was of so vast im-
 “ portance, that it might preserve his crown, and there-
 “ fore his conducting it, without which he saw little
 “ hope of success, would be a matter of great merit, and
 “ could not be unrewarded.” O’Neile seemed wonder-
 fully surprised with the proposition, and in some disor-
 der (which he could handsomely put on when he would)
 said, “ that he would never disobey any command his
 “ Majesty

" Majesty would positively lay upon him ; but that he
 " should look upon it as the greatest misfortune that
 " could befall him, to receive such a command, as would
 " deprive him of attending upon his Majesty in the
 " next campaign, where he was sure there must be a
 " battle ; from which he had rather lose his life than
 " be absent." Then he said, " though the Earl of An-
 " trim was his kinsman and his friend, and one who, he
 " thought, loved him better than he did any other man,
 " yet he was the last man in England with whom he
 " would be willing to join in any enterprise ;" mention-
 ing his pride, and levity, and weakness, and many in-
 firmities, which made it appear more requisite, that a
 wiser man should have the application of his interest ;
 which he knew must be himself. The King renewed
 his desire to him, to undertake the service, as the great-
 est he could perform for him ; and commanded him to
 confer with the Lord Digby, who should inform him
 of all particulars, and should find the best way to make
 the Earl of Antrim to communicate the affair to him,
 and to wish his assistance ; which was easily brought to
 pass ; nor was there any thing relating to it that the
 Lord Digby had not before imparted to him ; though
 the King suspected it not.

The Lord Digby had now brought the business to
 the state he wished ; and, within two or three days, told
 the King " how glad the Earl of Antrim was, that he
 " had leave to communicate the matter with O'Neile ;
 " and desired nothing more than that his Majesty would
 " command him to go over with him ; which was an
 " excellent point gained, wherein he had himself chosen
 " the person who was only fit to be with him, whereas
 " he might have been jealous, if he had been first re-
 " commended to him. The Earl had, upon the first
 " mention

" mention of him, taken notice of the difficulty he
 " might find to draw his men out of the Irish quarters,
 " by the opposition of those who commanded there in
 " chief: but, he said, if the King would make O'Neile
 " go with him, all that difficulty would be removed;
 " for Owen O'Neile, who was uncle to Daniel, was the
 " General of all the Irish in Ulster, and incomparably
 " the best foldier, and the wisest man that was among
 " the Irish rebels, having long served the King of Spain
 " in Flanders in very eminent command; and the Earl
 " said, that he was sure Daniel had that credit with his
 " uncle, that he would not refuse, at his request, to con-
 " nive at what was necessary for the Earl to do; which
 " was all he desired."

The Lord Digby left not this circumstance, which he
 pretended never to have thought of before, unobserved,
 to advance the counsel he had given for employing
 O'Neile; whom he took occasion then to magnify
 again; and told the King, " that he had already con-
 " vinced the Earl of Antrim of the folly of desiring
 " any other commission than what the Marquis of Or-
 " mond should find necessary to give him; and how
 " impossible it was for him to have any success in that
 " design, without the cheerful concurrence and friend-
 " ship of the Marquis: which the Earl was now brought
 " to confess, and solemnly promised to do all he should
 " be advised, to compass it." But after all this, he la-
 " mented " O'Neile's obstinate aversion to undertake the
 " journey, for many reasons; who, he said, had engaged
 " him, under all the obligations of the friendship that
 " was between them, to prevail with his Majesty, that
 " he might not be absent from his charge in the army,
 " in a season when there must be so much action, and
 " when his Majesty's person, whom he so dearly loved,
 " must

" must be in so great danger; and that he had told
 " him freely, that he could not honestly move his Ma-
 " jesty to that purpose, whom he knew to be so pos-
 " sessed of the necessity of his going into Ireland with
 " the Earl, that he should despair of the whole en-
 " prise, which was the most hopeful he had in his view.
 " if he did not cheerfully submit to act his part towards
 " it: but that notwithstanding all he had said, by which
 " he had shut out all farther importunity towards him-
 " self, his Majesty must expect to be very much strug-
 " gled with; and that O'Neile would lay himself at his
 " feet, and get all his friends to join with him in a sup-
 " plication for his Majesty's excuse; and that there was
 " no more to be done, but that his Majesty, with some
 " warmth, should command him to desist from farther
 " importunity, and to comply with what he should ex-
 " pect from him; which, he said, he knew would fi-
 " nence all farther opposition: for that O'Neile had that
 " entire resignation to his Majesty's pleasure, that he
 " would rather die than offend him." Upon which,
 and to cut off all farther mediation and interposition,
 the King presently sent for him, and graciously con-
 jured him, with as much passion as he could shew, " to
 " give over all thoughts of excuse, and to provide for
 " his journey within three or four days."

All things being thus disposed, and the King expecting
 every day that the Earl and O'Neile would take their
 leaves, the Lord Digby came to him, and said, " Mr.
 " O'Neile had an humble suit to his Majesty at part-
 " ing; which to him did not seem unreasonable, and
 " therefore he hoped his Majesty would raise the spirits
 " of the poor man, since he did believe in his consci-
 " ence, that he desired it more for the advancement of
 " his Majesty's service, than to satisfy his own ambi-
 " tion."

"tion." He put him in mind of the "long pre-
 "tence he had to be Groom of his Bedchamber, for
 "the which he could not choose but say, that he had
 "the Queen's promise, at the same time when Percy
 "and Wilmot had the like for their honours, which
 "they had since received the accomplishment of: that
 "his Majesty had not yet rejected the suit, but only
 "deferred the granting it; not without giving him
 "leave in due time to hope it: that there could not be
 "so proper a season as this for his Majesty to confer
 "this grace: that Mr. O'Neile was without a rival,
 "and, in the eyes of all men, equal to his pretence;
 "and so no man could be offended at the success: that
 "he was now upon an employment of great trust,
 "chosen by his Majesty as the only person who could
 "bring an enterprise of that vast expectation to a good
 "end, by his conduct and dexterity: that it must be
 "a journey of great expence, besides the hazard of it;
 "yet he asked no money, because he knew there was
 "none to be had; he begged only that he might de-
 "part with such a character, and testimony of his Ma-
 "jesty's favour and good opinion, that he might be
 "thereby the better qualified to perform the trust that
 "was reposed in him: that the conferring this honour
 "upon him, at this time, would increase the credit he
 "had with the Earl of Antrim, at least confirm his un-
 "constant nature in an absolute confidence in him: it
 "would make him more considerable to the Marquis
 "of Ormond, and the Council there, with whom he
 "might have occasion often to confer about his Ma-
 "jesty's service; but, above all, it would give him that
 "authority over his countrymen, and would be such an
 "obligation upon the whole Irish nation, (there having
 "never yet been any Irishman admitted to a place so

“near the person of the King), that it might produce unexpected effects, and could not fail of disposing Owen O’Neile, the General, to hearken to any thing his nephew should ask of him.”

How much reason soever this discourse carried with it, with all the insinuations a very powerful speaker could add to it in the delivery, the Lord Digby found an aversion and weariness in the King all the time he was speaking; and therefore, as his last effort, and with a countenance as if he thought his Majesty much in the wrong, he concluded, “that he doubted his Majesty would too late repent his aversion in this particular; and that men ought not to be sent upon such errands with the sharp sense of any disobligation: that if his Majesty pleased, he might settle this affair in such a manner as O’Neile might go away very well pleased, and his Majesty enjoy the greatest part of his resolution: that O’Neile should not be yet in so near an attendance about his person: that the employment was full of hazard, and would require a great expence of time: that he was a man of that nature as would not leave a business half done, and would be ashamed to see his Majesty’s face, before there were some very considerable effect of his activity and industry; and considering what was to be done in Ireland, and the posture of affairs in England, it might be a very long time before O’Neile might find himself again in the King’s presence, to enter upon his office in the Bedchamber;” and therefore proposed, that the hour he was to leave Oxford he might be sworn Groom of the Bedchamber; by which he should depart only with a title, the effect whereof he should not be possessed of, before he had very well deserved it, and returned again to his Majesty’s presence;

“ fence ; which, possibly, might require more time than
 “ the other had to live.” This last prevailed more than
 all the rest, and the imagination that the other might
 be well satisfied with a place he should never enjoy,
 made his Majesty consent, that, in the last article of
 time, he should be sworn before his departure ; with
 which the other was well satisfied, making little doubt
 but that he should be able to dispatch that part of the
 business which was incumbent on him, in so short a
 time, as he might return to his attendance in the Bed-
 chamber (where he longed to be) sooner than the King
 expected ; which fell out accordingly, for he was again
 with his Majesty in the summer following, which was
 that of forty-four.

Whilst this intrigue was carrying on for Mr. O’Neile,
 there was another, as unacceptable, set on foot on the
 behalf of the Earl of Antrim ; for whose person the
 King had as little regard or kindness, as for any man of
 his rank. The Duchess of Buckingham his wife was
 now in Oxford, whom the King always heard with fa-
 vour ; his Majesty retaining a most gracious memory
 of her former husband, whom he thought she had for-
 gotten too soon. This lady, being of a great wit and spi-
 rit, when she found that the King now thought her hus-
 band good for somewhat, which he had never before
 done, was resolved he should carry with him some testi-
 mony of the King’s esteem ; which she thought would
 be at least some justification of the affection she had
 manifested for him. She told the King, “ that her
 “ husband was so eclipsed in Ireland, by the no-counte-
 “ nance his Majesty had ever shewed towards him, and
 “ by his preferring some who were his equals to degrees
 “ and trusts above him, and by raising others, who were

“ in all respects much inferior to him, to the same title
“ with him, and to authority above him, that she be-
“ lieved he had not credit and interest enough to do the
“ service he desired to do : that, in that country, the lords
“ and greatest men had reputation over their tenants and
“ vassals, as they were known to have grace from the
“ King ; and when they were known to be without that
“ they had no more power than to exact their own just
“ services.” She lamented “ the misfortune of her husband,
“ which she had the more reason to do, because
“ it proceeded from her ; and that, whereas he had reason
“ to have expected, that, by his marriage with her
“ he might have been advanced in the Court, and in his
“ Majesty’s favour, he had found so little benefit from
“ thence, that he might well believe, as she did, that he
“ suffered for it ; otherwise, it would not have been possible
“ for a person of the Earl of Antrim’s estate and interest,
“ and so well qualified, as she had reason to believe
“ him to be in all respects, after the expence of so
“ much money in attendance upon the Court, to be
“ without any mark or evidence of his Majesty’s favour ;
“ and to return now again in the same forlorn condition
“ into Ireland, would but give his enemies more encouragement
“ to insult over him, and to cross any designs he had to
“ advance his Majesty’s service.” In conclusion she desired,
“ that the King would make her husband a Marquis ;” without which she did as good
as declare, that he should not undertake that employment.
Though his Majesty was neither pleased with the matter
nor the manner, he did not discern so great an inconvenience
in the gratifying him, as might weigh down the benefit he
expected with reference to Scotland ; which the Earl of
Mountrose every day, with great

great earnestness, put him in mind of. Thereupon, he gave order for a warrant to make the Earl of Antrim a Marquis.

So he and O'Neile, being well pleased, begun their journey for Ireland; and at the same time the Earl of Mountrose took his leave of the King with several gentlemen, as if they meant to make their way together into Scotland. But the Earl of Mountrose, after he had continued his journey two or three days in that equipage, which he knew could be no secret, and that it would draw the enemy's troops together for the guard of all passes to meet with him, was found missing one morning by his company; who, after some stay and inquiry, returned back to Oxford, whilst that noble person, with incredible address and fatigue, had not only quitted his company and his servants, but his horse also, and found a safe passage, for the most part, on foot, through all the enemy's quarters, till he came to the very borders; from whence, by the assistance of friends whom he trusted, he found himself secure in the Highlands, where he lay quiet, without undertaking any action, until the Marquis of Antrim, by the countenance and assistance of the Marquis of Ormond, did make good so much of his undertaking, that he sent over Alexander Macdonnel, a stout and an active officer, (whom they called by an Irish appellation Calkito), with a regiment of fifteen hundred soldiers; who landed in the Highlands in Scotland, at or near the place that had been agreed on, and where the Earl of Mountrose was ready to receive them; which he did with great joy; and quickly published his commission of being General for the King over all that kingdom. With this handful of men, brought together with those circumstances remembered, he brought in so many of his own countrymen

trymen to join with him, as were strong enough to arm themselves at the charge of their enemies ; whom they first defeated ; and every day increased in power, till he fought and prevailed in so many several battles, that he made himself, upon the matter, master of the kingdom ; and did all those stupendous acts, which deservedly are the subject of a history by itself, excellently written in Latin by a learned Prelate of that nation. And this preamble to that history was not improper for this relation, being made up of many secret passages known to few ; in which the artifices of Court were very notable, and as mysterious as the motions in that sphere use to be. There will be hereafter occasion, before the conclusion of our history, to mention that noble Lord again, and his zeal for the Crown, before he came to his sad catastrophe.

The King now found, that, notwithstanding all the divisions in the Parliamept, and the factions in the city, there would be an army ready to march against him before he could put himself into a posture ready to receive it ; and was therefore the more impatient that the Prince should leave Oxford, and begin his journey to Bristol ; which he did within a fortnight after the expiration of the treaty at Uxbridge. And since the King did at that time within himself (for publickly he was contented that it should be otherwise believed) resolve that the Prince should only keep his Court in the West, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any martial action, or being so much as present in any army, it had been very happy, and, to discerning men, seemed then a thing desirable, if his Majesty had removed his Court into the West too, either to Bristol, or, which it may be had been better, to Exeter. For since Reading and Abingdon were both possessed

feſſed by the Parliament, and thereby Oxford become the head quarter, it was not ſo fit that the Court ſhould remain there; which, by the multitude of ladies, and perſons of quality, who reſided there, would not probably endure ſuch an attack of the enemy, as the ſituation of the place, and the good fortifications which incloſed it, might very well bear. Nor would the enemy have ſate down before it, till they had done their buſineſs in all other places, if they had not preſumed, that the inhabitants within would not be willing to ſubmit to any notable diſtreſs. If, at this time, a good gariſon had only been left there, and all the Court, and perſons of quality, removed into the Weſt with the Prince, it would probably have been a means ſpeedily to have reduced to the King's obedience thoſe ſmall gariſons which ſtood out; and the King himſelf might, by the ſpring, have been able to have carried a good recruit of men to his army, and might likewise have made Oxford the place of rendezvous, at the time when it ſhould be fit for him to take the field. But the truth is, not only the ladies, who were very powerful in ſuch conſultations of ſtate, but very few of the reſt, of what degree or quality ſoever, who had excellent accommodations in the colleges, which they could not have found any where elſe, would, without extreme murmuring, have been content to have changed their quarters. Beſides, the King had that royal affection for the Univerſity, that he thought it well deſerved the honour of his own preſence; and always reſolved, that it ſhould be never ſo expoſed to the extremity of war, as to fall into thoſe barbarous hands, without making all neceſſary conditions for the preſervation of ſo venerable a place from rapine, ſacrilege, and deſtruction.

Thus that conſideration of removing the Court from

thence

thence was only secretly entered upon, and laid aside, without making it the subject of any public debate : and since the other could not have been effected, it had been well if the whole council which was assigned to attend the Prince, had been obliged to have performed that service. But both the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Southampton, men of great reputation and authority, excused themselves to the King, for not submitting to that his command, and for desiring to continue still about his person ; the one thinking it some diminution to his greatness to be at any distance from his Majesty, to whom he had adhered with that signal fidelity and affection, when so many had deserted him ; the other being newly married, and engaged in a family, which he could not, without great inconveniences, have left behind him ; nor without more have carried with him. Nor was the King difficult in admitting their excuses, having named them rather to obviate some jealousies, which were like to be entertained upon the first discourse of sending the Prince into the West, than that he believed they would be willing to be engaged in the service. However, it was easy to be foreseen, that, upon any ill accidents, which were like enough to fall out, they who were still obliged to that duty, would not have reputation enough to exact that general submission and obedience, which ought to be paid to the commands of the Prince ; of which there was shortly after too manifest evidence.

Sir John
Hotham
and his son
tried at a
court of
war: both
are con-
demned,
and be-
headed.

There was an act of divine justice about this time executed by those at Westminster, which ought not to be forgotten in the relation of the affairs of this year ; and which ought to have caused very useful reflections to be made by many who were equally engaged ; some of whom afterwards did undergo the same fate. There
hath

hath been often mention before of Sir John Hotham, who shut the gates of Hull against the King, and refused to give him entrance into that town, when he came thither attended only by his own servants, before the beginning of the war; and was, in truth, the immediate cause of the war. It was the more wonderful, that a person of a full and ample fortune, who was not disturbed by any fancies in religion, had unquestioned duty to the Crown, and reverence for the government both of Church and State, should so foolishly expose himself and his family, of great antiquity, to comply with the humours of those men, whose persons he did not much esteem, and whose designs he perfectly detested. But as his particular animosity against the Earl of Strafford first engaged him in that company, so his vanity and ambition, and the concessions the King had made to their unreasonable demands, made him concur farther with them than his own judgment disposed him to. He had taken upon him the government of Hull, without any apprehension or imagination that it would ever make him accessary to rebellion; but believed, that, when the King and Parliament should be reconciled, the eminence of that charge would promote him to some of those rewards and honours, which that party resolved to divide among themselves. When he found himself more dangerously and desperately embarked than he ever intended to be, he bethought himself of all possible ways to disentangle himself, and to wind himself out of the labyrinth he was in. His comportment towards the Lord Digby, and Ashburnham, and his inclinations at that time, have been mentioned before at large; and from that time, the entire confidence the Parliament had in his son, and the vigilance and jealousy that he was known to have towards his father, was that alone that preserved him

him

him longer in the government. Besides that they had so constituted the garrison, that they knew it could never be in the father's power to do them hurt. But, after this, when they discovered some alteration in the son's behaviour, and that the pride and stubbornness of his nature would not suffer him to submit to the command of the Lord Fairfax, and that superiority over both his father and him, with which the Parliament had invested that Lord, and had some inkling of secret messages between the Marquis of Newcastle and young Hotham, they caused both father and son to be suddenly seized upon, and sent up prisoners to the Parliament; which immediately committed them to the Tower, upon a charge of high treason.

Though there was evidence enough against them, yet they had so many friends in both Houses of Parliament, and some of that interest in the army, that they were preserved from farther prosecution, and remained long prisoners in the Tower without being brought to any trial; so that they believed their punishment to be at the highest. But when that party prevailed that resolved to new model the army, and to make as many examples of their rigour and severity as might terrify all men from falling from them, they called importunately, that the two Hothams might be tried at a court of war, for their treachery and treason; and they who had hitherto preserved them had now lost their interest; so that they were both brought to their trial, some little time before the treaty at Uxbridge, and both condemned to lose their heads. The principal charge against the father was, his suffering the Lord Digby to escape; and a letter was produced, by the treachery of a servant, against the son, which he had sent to the Marquis of Newcastle. The vile artifices that were used both before and after their

their trial were so barbarous and inhuman, as have been rarely practised among Christians.

The father was first condemned to suffer upon a day appointed, and the son afterwards to be executed in like manner the day following: the night before, or the very morning, that Sir John Hotham was to die, a reprieve was sent from the House of Peers to suspend his execution for three days. The Commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the Lords; and, to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an order "to all sheriffs, justices, bailiffs, and other ministers of justice, that no reprieve should be granted, or allowed for any person against whom the sentence of death was pronounced, except the same had passed, and that the assent of both Houses of Parliament; and that it should be the duty of the House of Peers, in such case, to send a message to the House of Commons, and to request their assent to the reprieve." By this order, the Lords were prevented from the execution of the father, and the son was executed the next day. The Commons were highly incensed at this presumption in the Lords; and, to prevent the like mischief for the future, they made an order "to all sheriffs, justices, bailiffs, and other ministers of justice, that no reprieve should be granted, or allowed for any person against whom the sentence of death was pronounced, except the same had passed, and that the assent of both Houses of Parliament; and that it should be the duty of the House of Peers, in such case, to send a message to the House of Commons, and to request their assent to the reprieve." By this order, the Lords were prevented from the execution of the father, and the son was executed the next day.

his enemies prevailed so far, that he could not be permitted to live those two days which the Peers had granted him, certain it is that the poor man appeared so dispirited, that he spoke but few words after he came upon the scaffold, and suffered his ungodly confessor Peters to tell the people, "that he had revealed himself to him, and confessed his offences against the Parliament;" and so he committed his head to the block. This was the woful tragedy of these two unhappy gentlemen; in which there were so many circumstances of an unusual nature, that the immediate hand of Almighty God could not but appear in it to all men who knew their natures, humours, and transactions.

Since the last office of a General, with reference to the King's quarters, which the Earl of Essex performed before he found it necessary to surrender his commission to the Parliament, was done before the end of this year, it will be proper in this place to mention it, both in respect of the nature of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it was conducted, it being a letter signed by the Earl of Essex, and sent by a trumpet to Prince Rupert, but penned by a committee of Parliament, and perused by both Houses before it was signed by their General; who used, in all dispatches made by himself, to observe all decency in the forms. It was a very insolent letter, and upon a very insolent occasion. The Parliament had, some months before, made an ordinance against giving quarter to any of the Irish nation which should be taken prisoners, either at sea or land; which was not taken notice of, or indeed known to the King, till long after; though the Earl of Warwick, and the officers under him at sea, had, as often as he met with any Irish frigates, or such freebooters as sailed under their commission, taken all the seamen who became prisoners

prisoners to them of that nation, and bound them back to back, and thrown them overboard into the sea, without distinction of their condition, if they were Irish. In this cruel manner very many poor men perished daily; of which, when it was generally known, the King said nothing, because none of those persons were in his Majesty's service; and how barbarous soever the proceedings were, his Majesty could not complain of it, without undergoing the reproach of being concerned on the behalf and in favour of the rebels of Ireland.

But there had been lately, in some service at land, some prisoners taken of the King's troops, and upon pretence that they were Irishmen, as many as they thought to be of that nation were all hanged, to the number of ten or twelve. Whereupon Prince Rupert, having about the time when he heard of that barbarity, taken an equal number of the Parliament foldiers, caused them likewise to be hanged upon the next tree; which the Parliament declared to be an act of great injustice and cruelty; and appointed the Earl of Essex to expostulate it with Prince Rupert very rudely, in the letter they had caused to be penned for him, and to send a copy of their ordinance inclosed in the said letter, with expressions full of reproach for his "presumption in making an ordinance of theirs the argument to justify an action of so much inhumanity;" which was the first knowledge the King had of any such declaration, with reference to the war in England; nor had there been, from the beginning of it, any such example made. Prince Rupert returned such an answer as was reasonable, and with a sharpness equal to the provocation, and sent it to the Earl of Essex; who, the day before he received it, had given up his commission, but sent it immediately to the two Houses, who were exceedingly enraged at it; some

some of them saying, "that they wondered it was so long on the way, for that certainly it had been prepared at Uxbridge."

The Prince of Wales sent by the King to reside at Bristol.

It was upon the fourth of March that the Prince parted from the King his father, and, about a week after, came to Bristol; where he was now to act a part by himself, as the affairs should require, or rather where he was to sit still without acting any thing; the end being, as was said before, only that the King and the Prince might not be exposed at the same time to the same danger; without any purpose that he should raise any more strength than was necessary to the security of his own person, or that indeed he should move farther westward than that city. His Highness had not been there above two or three days, when letters were intercepted, that discovered a design of Waller, who had passed by the Lord Goring, and put relief into Taunton, and hoped to have surprised Bristol in his return; whereupon two or three of his correspondents fled out of the city, and the rest were so dispirited with the discovery, that they readily consented to any thing that was proposed. So the Lord Hopton put all things into so good a posture, that there was no farther cause to apprehend Waller; and he himself was required to return to London, to deliver up his commission upon the Self-denying Ordinance.

Thus ended the year 1644, which shall conclude this book.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION, &c.

BOOK IX.

Is. i. 15.

And when you spread forth your hands, I will turn away from you; yea, when you make many prayer, I will not hear. Your hands are full of blood.

Is. xxviii. 15.

For we have made lies our refuge, and say we will be safe for ever: because we have said so.

WE are now entering upon a new and description whereof must be as pleasant and ungrateful to the subject matter of it; which is a folly on the one side, and a wisdom on the other; and is so difficult to the writer, in that it please very few who are wise, but must give and severely censure the very well, and had infidelity, as well

liberate impiety, prosecuted their design to ruin and destroy the Crown: a time, in which the whole stock of affection, loyalty, and courage, which at first alone engaged men in the quarrel, seemed to be quite spent, and to be succeeded by negligence, laziness, inadvertency, and dejection of spirit, contrary to the natural temper, vivacity, and constancy of the nation: a time, in which they who pretended most public-heartedness, and did really with the King all the greatness he desired to preserve for himself, did sacrifice the public peace, and the security of their master, to their own passions and appetites, to their ambition, and animosities against each other, without the least design of treachery, or damage towards his Majesty: a time, in which want of discretion and mere folly produced as much mischief as the most barefaced villany could have done; in which the King suffered as much by the irresolution and unsteadiness of his own counsels, and by the ill humour and faction of his counsellors, by their not foreseeing what was evident to most other men, and by their jealousies of what was not like to fall out; sometimes by deliberating too long without resolving, and as often resolving without any deliberation, and most of all, not executing vigorously what was deliberated and resolved; as by the indefatigable industry, and the irresistible power and strength of his enemies.

All these things must be very particularly enlarged upon, and exposed to the naked view, in the relation of what fell out in this year, 1645, in which we are engaged, except we will swerve from that precise rule of ingenuity and integrity we profess to observe; and thereby leave the reader more perplexed, to see the most prodigious accidents fall out; without discerning the no less prodigious causes which produced them; which would lead him into as wrong an estimate of things, and persuade

persuade him to believe, that a universal corruption of the hearts of the whole nation had brought forth those lamentable effects ; whereas they proceeded only from the folly and the frowardness, from the weakness and the wilfulness, the pride and the passion of particular persons, whose memories ought to be charged with their own evil actions, rather than that the infamy of them should be laid on the age wherein they lived ; which did produce as many men eminent for their loyalty and incorrupted fidelity to the Crown, as any that had preceded it. Nor is it possible to discourse of all these particulars, with the clearness that is necessary to subject them to common understandings, without opening a door for such reflections upon the King himself, as shall seem to call both his wisdom and his steadiness into question, as if he had wanted the one to apprehend and discover, and the other to prevent, the mischiefs which threatened him. All which considerations might very well discourage, and even terrify me from prosecuting this part of the work with such a freedom and openness, as must call many things to memory which are forgotten, or were never sufficiently understood ; and rather persuade me to satisfy myself with a bare relation of what was done, and with the known event of that miserable year, (which, in truth, produced all that followed in the succeeding years), without prying too strictly into the causes of those effects, and so let them seem rather to be the production of Providence, and the instances of divine displeasure, than shew how they proceed from the weakness and inadvertency of men, not totally abandoned by God Almighty to the most unruly lusts of their own appetite and inventions.

But I am too far embarked in this sea already, and have proceeded with too much simplicity and sincerity

with reference to things and persons, and in the examinations of the grounds and oversights of counsels, to be now frightened with the prospect of those materials, which must be comprehended within the relation of this year's transactions. I know myself to be very free from any of those passions which naturally transport men with prejudice towards the persons whom they are obliged to mention, and whose actions they are at liberty to censure. There is not a man who acted the worst part, in this ensuing year, with whom I had ever the least difference, or personal unkindness, or towards whom I had not much inclination of kindness, or from whom I did not receive all invitations of farther endearments. There were many who were not free from very great faults and oversights in the counsels of this year, with whom I had great friendship, and which I did not discontinue upon those unhappy oversights; nor did flatter them when they were past, by excusing what they had done. I knew most of the things myself which I mention, and therefore can answer for the truth of them; and other most important particulars, which were transacted in places very distant from me, were transmitted to me, by the King's immediate direction and order, even after he was in the hands and power of the enemy, out of his own memorials and journals. And as he was always severe to himself, in censuring his own oversights, so he could not but well foresee, that many of the misfortunes of this ensuing year would reflect upon some want of resolution in himself, as well as upon the gross errors and oversights, to call them no worse, of those who were trusted by him. Wherefore as I first undertook this difficult work with his approbation, and by his encouragement, and for his vindication, so I enter upon this part of it, principally, that the world may see (at least if there be ever a
fit

What expectation soever there was, that the *self-denying ordinance*, after it had, upon so long deliberation, passed the House of Commons, would have been rejected and cast out by the Peers; whereby the Earl of Effex would still have remained General; it did not take up so long debate there. The Marquis of Argyle was now come from Scotland, and sat with the commissioners of that kingdom, over whom he had a great ascendant. He was, in matters of religion, and in relation to the Church, purely Presbyterian; and in relation to the State, and with reference to the war, independent. He abhorred all thoughts of peace, but the King should ever more have the peace at his own disposal, notwithstanding the *self-denying ordinance*.

tions he had to him, he had always an inveterate malice. He had made a fast friendship with Sir Harry Vane, during his late being in Scotland; and they both liked each other's principles in government. From the time of his coming to the town, the Scottish commissioners were less vehement in obstructing the ordinance, or the new modelling the army: so that after it came to the House of Peers, though thereby the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, the Earl of Warwick, and the Earl of Denbigh, (whose power and authority, that is, the power, credit, and authority of the three first named, had absolutely governed and swayed that House from the beginning), were to be dispossessed of their commands, and no Peer of England capable of any employment either martial or civil; yet the ordinance found little opposition, and the old argument, "that the House of Commons thought it necessary, and that it would be of mischievous consequence to dissent from the House of Commons," so far prevailed, that it passed the House of Peers likewise; and there remained nothing to be done, but the Earl of Essex's surrender of his commission into the hands of the Parliament, from whom he had received it; which was thought necessary to be done with the same formality in which he had been invested with it. Fairfax was now named, and declared General, though the Earl of Essex made not haste to surrender his commission; so that some men imagined, that he would yet have contested it: but he was not for such enterprises, and did really believe that the Parliament would again have need of him, and his delay was only to be well advised, in all the circumstances of the formality. In the end it was agreed, that, at a conference of both Houses in the Painted Chamber, he should deliver his commission; which he did. And because he had

The Self-denying Ordinance passes in the House of Lords.

had no very plausible faculty in expressing himself, he chose to do it in writing; which he delivered to them; wherein he declared, "with what affection and fidelity he had served them, and as he had often ventured his life for them, so he would willingly have lost it in their service; and since they believed, that what they had more to do would be better performed by another man, he submitted to their judgment, and restored their commission to them; hoping they would find an abler servant:" concluding with some expressions which made it manifest that he did not think he had been well used, or that they would be the better for the change: and so left them, and returned to his own house; whither both Houses, the next day, went to attend him, and to return their thanks for the great service he had done the kingdom; which they acknowledged with all the encomiums and flattering attributes they could devise.

By this *self-denying ordinance*, together with the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Manchester, Sir William Waller, the Earl of Denbigh, Major General Masly, lost their commands; as Cromwell should likewise have done. But as soon as the ordinance was passed, and before the resignation of the Earl of Essex, the party that steered, had caused him to be sent with a body of horse into the West, to relieve Taunton, that he might be absent at the time when the other officers delivered their commissions; which was quickly observed; and thereupon orders were given, to require his present attendance in Parliament, and that their new General should send some other officer to attend that service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which it was averred that he would be in the House. A rendezvous was then appointed, for their new General to take a view

The Earl of Essex resigns his commission:

And divers other officers.

Cromwell
only finds
means to
keep his
commiffi-
on, and
new models
the army
under Fair-
fax.

of their troops, that he might appoint officers to fucceed those who had left their commands by virtue of the ordinance; and likewise in their places who gave up their commands, and refused to ferve in the new model, who were a great number of their beft commanders. From this rendezvous, the General sent to defire the Parliament, “that they would give Lieutenant General Cromwell leave to ftay with him for fome few days, for his better information, without which he fhould not be able to perform what they expected from him.” The request feeming fo reasonable, and being for fo fhort a time, little oppofition was made to it: and fhortly after, by another letter, he defired with very much earneftnefs, “that they would allow Cromwell to ferve for that campaign.” Thus they compaffed their whole defign, in being rid of all thofe whofe affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping Cromwell in command; who, in the name of Fairfax, modelled the army, and placed fuch officers as were well known to him, and to nobody elfe; and abfolutely governed the whole martial affairs; as was quickly known to all men; many particulars whereof will be mentioned at large hereafter.

Though the time fpent in paffing the *self-denying ordinance*, and afterwards in new modelling their army, had exceedingly retarded the preparations the enemy was to make, before they could take the field, whereby the King had more breathing time than he had reafon to expect; yet all the hopes he had of recruits againft that feafon, depended upon the activity of thofe to whofe care the providing thofe recruits was committed: fo that there will be little occafion to mention any thing that was done at Oxford, till the feafon of the year obliged his Majefty to leave that place, and to march

march with his army into the field. Of all the action that was till that time, the West was the scene ; where the Prince, as soon as he came to Bristol, found much more to do (and in which he could not avoid to meddle) than had been foreseen. One very great end of the Prince's journey into the West, besides the other of more importance, which has been named before, was, that by his presence, direction, and authority, the many factions and animosities between particular persons of quality, and interest in those parts, equal in their affections to the King's service, (yet they miserably infested and distracted it), might be composed and reconciled ; and that the endeavours of all men who wished well might be united in the advancing and carrying on that public service, in which all their joint happiness and security was concerned. This province, besides the Prince's immediate countenance and interposition, required great diligence and dexterity in those about him, who were trusted in those affairs. But his Highness found quickly another task incumbent on him than had been expected, and a mischief much more difficult to be mastered, and which, if unmastered, must inevitably produce much worse effects than the other could ; which was, the ambition, emulation, and contest, between several officers of the army and parties, which were then in those countries, whereby their troops were without any discipline, and the country as much exposed to rapine and violence as it could be under an enemy, and in an article of time when a body of the enemy was every day expected. That this may be the better understood, it will be necessary here, in the entrance upon this discourse, to set down truly the estate of the western counties, at the time when the Prince first came to Bristol.

The Lord Goring had been sent by his Majesty, be-

fore the time of the Prince's coming into the West with such a party of horse, foot, and dragoons, and a train of artillery, as he desired, into Hampshire, upon a design of his own, of making an incursion into Sussex: where he pretended "he had correspondence; and that "very many well affected persons promised to rise, and "declare for the King, and that Kent would do the "same." And so a commission was granted to him, of Lieutenant General of Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, without the least purpose or imagination that he should ever be near the Prince. Some attempts he made, in the beginning, upon Christ-Church, in Hampshire, a little unfortified fisher-town; yet was beaten off with loss: so that he was forced to retire to Salisbury; where his horse committed the same horrid outrages and barbarities as they had done in Hampshire, without distinction of friends or foes; so that those parts, which before were well devoted to the King, worried by oppression, wished for the access of any forces to redeem them. Whilst the Lord Goring lay fruitlessly in those parts, a party of horse and dragoons, under the command of Vandruske, a German, passed by him without interruption, to the relief of Taunton, then blocked up by Colonel Windham, and reduced to some straits; and accordingly effected it. About the same time, Sir Walter Hastings, Governor of Portland, seconded by Sir Lewis Dives, (who had the command of Dorsetshire as Colonel General), had surprised Weymouth, and possessed the forts, and the upper town, the rebels having withdrawn themselves into the lower town, divided from the other by an arm of the sea, and of no considerable strength: so that the speedy reducing that small place was not looked upon as a matter of difficulty. However, left those forces which had relieved Taunton, and
were

were conceived to be much greater than in truth they were, should be able to disturb the work of Weymouth, and for the sooner expediting the business there, the Lord Goring, now pretending that his friends in Sussex and Kent were not ready for him, was by order from Oxford, upon his own desire, sent thither; whereby it was thought, both the work of Weymouth and Taunton would be speedily effected. Thereupon the Lord Hopton, whose right it was to command in those counties as Field-Marshal of the West, being sent down by the King to compose the disorders there, upon the relief of Taunton, was, by special order, recalled to Bristol, lest there might be dispute of command between him and the Lord Goring; the one being General of the Ordnance, the other General of the Horse; but the Lord Hopton was likewise Field-Marshal of the West, in which the Lord Goring had no commission to command.

Shortly after the Lord Goring's arrival about Weymouth, with his full strength of horse, foot, and dragoons, and artillery, consisting of above three thousand horse, and fifteen hundred foot, besides what he found in those parts, that place of so vast importance was, by most supine negligence at best, retaken by that contemptible number of the enemy, who had been beaten into the lower town, and who were looked upon as prisoners at mercy. The mysteries of which fatal loss were never enquired into; but with great plainness, by the vote of the country, imputed to General Goring's natural want of vigilance; who thereupon retired with his whole strength into Somersetshire. His Highness, upon his arrival at Bristol, found the West in this condition; all Dorsetshire entirely possessed by the rebels, save only what Sir Lewis Dives could protect by his small garrison

at Sherborne, and the island of Portland, which could not provide for its own subsistence: the garrison of Taunton, with that party of horse and dragoons which relieved it, commanding a very large circuit, and disturbing other parts in Somersetshire: Devonshire intervened upon the blocking up of Plymouth at one end, and open to incursions from Lyme, and prejudiced by Taunton at the other end: the King's garrisons, in all three counties, being stronger in fortifications (which yet were not finished in any place, and but begun in some) than in men, or any provisions to endure an enemy: whilst the Lord Goring's forces equally infested the borders of Dorset, Somerset, and Devon, by unheard of rapine, without applying themselves to any enterprise upon the rebels. Cornwall indeed was entire; but being wholly assigned to the blocking up of Plymouth, yielded no supply to any other service, or to the providing its own garrisons against the time that they might be visited by an enemy.

Sir William Waller and Cromwell marched together about this time towards the West, and passing through Wiltshire, had routed and taken the whole regiment of horse of Colonel Long, the High Sheriff of that county, by his great defect of courage and conduct; and seemed to intend an attempt upon General Goring; who was so much startled with the noise at a great distance, that he drew his forces so far west of Taunton, that Vandruske had an opportunity to retire, with that body of horse and dragoons with which he had relieved Taunton, to his fellows; whilst the King's forces reposed themselves upon the borders of Devonshire, the Lord Goring himself, and most of his principal officers, taking that opportunity to refresh at Exeter, where they stayed three or four days in most scandalous disorder, a great part of his horse lying upon free quarter, and plundering to the gates

gates of the city ; which, in the beginning of the year, was an ill presage to that people, what they were to expect. But finding that Sir William Waller made not that haste he apprehended, having borrowed such horse and foot as he could procure from Exeter, he returned again towards Taunton, and gave his Highness an account of his condition.

The Prince, being attended at Bristol by the commissioners of Somerset, found no one thing provided, or one promise complied with, which had been made by them at Oxford : of his guards of horse and foot, which they assured him, for the proportion of that county, should be ready against his coming, not one man or horse provided : of the hundred pound a week, to be allowed by them towards his Highness's support, not one penny ready, nor like to be. So that he was forced to borrow from the Lord Hopton's own private store, to buy bread. And, which was worse than all this, we found plainly, that, what had been so particularly and positively undertaken at Oxford, was upon the confidence only of three or four men, who were governed by Sir John Stawel and Mr. Fountain, without any concurrence from the rest of the commissioners of that, or the other three associated counties ; and that they who had been so confident, instead of forming and pursuing any design for raising of men or money, were only busy in making objections, and preparing complaints, and pursuing their private quarrels, and animosities against others. So they brought, every day, complaints against this and that governor of garrisons, for the riots and insolences of the Lord Goring's soldiers, and, " that those parts of the
" country which were adjacent to Sherborne and Bridge-
" water were compelled to work at those fortifications ;"
with other particulars, most of which, they well knew,
in

in that conjuncture of time, could not be prevented, and some of which were in themselves very necessary. Yet the Prince endeavoured to give them all encouragement; told them, “that he was very sensible of all their disorders of which they complained; and would redress them, as soon as they should discern it to be within his power; that the forces under the Lord Goring were an army by themselves, come down into those parts before his Highness; and stayed then there for their protection against the power of Waller, (which was ready to invade them), and the garrison of Tanton, which they confessed infested their whole country. that he was very desirous that army might move eastward, as soon as they should put themselves in such a posture, as might render them secure against their enemies; wished them to propose any expedients, how the fortifications of the garrisons might be finished without some extraordinary help; or to propose the most convenient one; and he would join with them; and desired them to proceed in their levies of men and money, in the ways agreed on by themselves; and they should find all concurrence and assistance from him.” But, notwithstanding all he could say or do, nothing was reasonably proposed or admitted by them, for the advancement of the public service.

By this time, towards the end of March, Sir William Waller having advanced with his horse and dragoons by Bath towards Bristol, in hope, as hath been said before, to have surpris'd that city by some treachery within, and being disappointed there, retired towards Dorsetshire, and the edge of Somerset, adjoining to that county; where Cromwell expected him; the Lord Goring having, in the mean while, fallen into some of Cromwell's quarters about Dorchester, and taken some prisoners and horses,

horses, and disordered the rest. Upon a dispute between
 themselves, or some other orders, Cromwell retired to
 join with Sir Thomas Fairfax towards Reading; Sir
 William Waller stayed in those parts, to intend the busi-
 nesses of the West, but made no haste to advance, ex-
 pecting some supplies of foot by sea at Weymouth. So
 that the Lord Goring drew back to Bruton, and sent to
 the Prince to desire, "that two of his council might
 " meet him at Wells the next day, to consider what
 " course was best to be taken:" accordingly the Lords
 Capel and Colepepper, the next day, met his Lordship
 at Wells. Where, after long consideration of the whole
 state of the West, and of the great importance of re-
 ducing Taunton, without which no great matter could
 be expected from Somersetshire, the Lord Goring pro-
 posed, and put the design in writing under his own hand,
 for the whole method and manner of his proceeding,
 "that he would leave the gross of his horse, and two-
 " hundred foot mounted, in such convenient place, upon
 " the skirts of Dorsetshire and Wiltshire, as they might
 " be able to retire to their body, if the enemy advanced
 " powerfully; and that he would himself, with all his
 " foot and cannon, and such horse as were necessary, at-
 " tempt the taking or burning of Taunton:" and to that
 purpose desired his Highness, "to send positive orders
 " to Sir Richard Greenvil," (who, notwithstanding his
 Highness's commands formerly sent to him, and some
 orders from the King himself, made not that haste as
 might reasonably be expected), "to advance, and to
 " direct the commissioners of Somerset to give their
 " personal attendance upon that service; and in the
 " mean time to take care that sufficient magazines of
 " victual and provisions were made for the soldiers:" all
 which

which was exactly performed by his Highness, the ~~the~~ day after he received the desires of General Goring.

But within three or four days, and before the design upon Taunton was ready for execution, it appeared by constant intelligence, that Waller was advancing with a great body of horse and dragoons, and some foot; and therefore the attempt upon Taunton was for the present to be laid aside; and the Lord Goring very earnestly desired the Prince to command Sir Richard Greenvil, who was now drawn near to Taunton, with eight hundred horse, and above two thousand foot, besides pioneers, with all possible speed to march to him, that he might be able to abide the enemy, if they came upon him; or, otherwise, to compel them to fight, if they stayed in those fast quarters, where they then were; which was about Shaftsbury, Gillingham, and those places. The Prince accordingly sent his commands positively to Sir Richard Greenvil, "to advance towards the Lord Goring, and to obey all such orders as he should receive from his lordship." But he as positively sent his Highness word, "that his men would not stir a foot; and that he had promised the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall, that he would not advance beyond Taunton, till Taunton were reduced; but that he made no question, if he were not disturbed, speedily to give a good account of that place." In the mean time, the Lord Goring very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon Sir William Waller's quarters twice in less than a week; and killed and took so good a number, that it was generally believed Sir William Waller was lessened near a thousand men by those rencounters; the Lord Goring still declaring, "that he could neither pursue his advantages
" upon

‘ upon a party, nor engage the main of the rebels, without the addition of Greenvil’s foot ;” and he, notwithstanding all orders, as peremptorily refusing to stir, but professing, “ that, if he had an addition of six hundred men, he would be in the town within six days.”

Whilst things stood thus, Sir William Waller, much weakened with these disasters, and the time of his command being near expired, drew back eastward ; and was, by night marches, retired as far as Salisbury, before the Lord Goring had notice of his motion. Whereupon his Highness, upon consideration how impossible it was to overtake him, which General Goring himself confessed by his letters, or to engage the forces under the command of Greenvil, and the other forces of those parts, in any action, before the business of Taunton should be over, (which indeed disappointed all our hopes both of men and money in that great county), and, on the other side, considering, if that place were reduced, (as Sir Richard Greenvil undertook it should be in six days, and others, who had viewed it, thought it not a work of time), besides the terror it would strike into their neighbours, there would be an army of four thousand horse, and five thousand foot, ready to be applied to any service they should be directed to, and that then the Lord Goring might prosecute his commission in Suffex and Kent, with such a reasonable recruit of foot as should be necessary, and yet his Highness enabled, in a short time, to be in the head of a very good army, raised out of the four associated counties, either for the reducing the few other places which were garrisoned by the rebels, or to march toward his Majesty : I say, upon these considerations, the Prince (with the privacy and advice of Prince Rupert, who was then at Bristol, and present at the whole consultation, and the principal

cipal adviser in it) writ, upon the eleventh of April, the Lord Goring, being then about Wells, "that his opinion was, that the horse and dragoons under his lordship's command should advance from the quarters where they then were, much to the prejudice of that county, into Dorsetshire or Wiltshire, or into both of them; and that the foot and cannon should march directly towards Taunton, according to the design formerly proposed by his lordship; and referred it to himself, whether his lordship in person would stay with the horse, or go with the foot; and desired to receive his opinion and resolution upon the whole;" there being nothing proposed to be acted in two days. This letter was sent by Colonel Windham, the Governor of Bridgewater, who came that day, from before Taunton, from Sir Richard Greenvil; and could best inform him of the strength of the town, and the condition of Sir Richard Greenvil's forces.

The next day Colonel Windham returned with a short sullen letter from the Lord Goring to the Prince. "that he had, according to his command, sent the foot and cannon to Taunton, and the horse to the other places; and that, since there was now nothing for him to do, he was gone to Bath to intend his health:" where he complained privately, "that his forces were taken from him at a time when he meant to pursue Waller, and could utterly defeat him;" and much inveighed against the Prince's council, for sending orders to him so prejudicial to the King's service: whereas it was only an opinion, and not orders, grounded upon what himself had formerly proposed, and to which he was desired to return his present judgment; being within half a day's journey of the Prince, upon whom he ought to have attended in person, or have sent his advice

advice to him, if what was then offered seemed not convenient. But, after some days frolickly spent at Bath, he returned to his former temper, and, waiting on the Prince at Bristol, was contented to be told, "that he had been more apprehensive of discourtesies than he had cause;" and so all misunderstandings seemed to be fairly made up.

The Lord Goring's foot and cannon being thus suddenly sent to Taunton, under the command of Sir Joseph Wagstaffe; for the better preventing any mistakes and contests about command, the Prince sent the Lords Capel and Colepepper to Taunton, to settle all disputes that might arise, and to dispose the country to assist that work in the best manner; which proved very fortunate; for the same day they came thither, Sir Richard Greenvil, having brought his forces within musquet-shot on one side of Taunton, went himself to view Wellington-house, five miles distant, in which the rebels had a garrison, and was, out of a window, shot in the thigh; with which he fell, the wound being then conceived to be mortal: so that there was no person who would pretend to command; those under Greenvil, having no experienced officer of reputation equal to that charge, yet being superior in number to the other, would not be commanded by Sir Joseph Wagstaffe; so that if the lords had not very happily been present, it is probable, both those bodies of foot, each being too weak for the attempt by itself, would, if not disbanded, at best have retired to their former posts, and left those of Taunton at liberty to have done what they thought best. But they being there, and Sir John Berkley being in that instant come thither to meet them, with an account of the state of Devonshire, they persuaded him to undertake the present charge of the whole, (all the

officers of both bodies having formerly received orders from him), and to prosecute the former design upon the town; all persons submitting till the Prince's pleasure should be farther known; those officers under Sir Richard Greenvil presently sending away an express to Bristol, to desire the Lord Hopton to take the command of them. But his lordship had no mind to enter upon any particular action with disjointed forces, till upon the withdrawing of the Lord Goring, the whole command might be executed according to former establishment. And so a special direction was sent to all the officers and soldiers, to obey Sir John Berkley, according to what had been formerly settled by the lords. He, in few days, put the business in very good order and by storm took Wellington-house, where Greenvil had been hurt. I cannot omit here, that the lords coming to visit Greenvil, in the instant that he was put into his litter, and carrying to Exeter, told him what they had thought necessary to be done in the point of command; the which he seeming very well to approve, they desired him to call his officers, (most of the principal being there present), and to command them to proceed in the work in hand cheerfully, under the command of Sir John Berkley; the which he promised to do, and immediately said somewhat to his officers, at the side of his litter, which the lords conceived to be what he had promised: but it appeared after that it was not so; and, very probably, was the contrary; for neither officer nor soldier did his duty after he was gone, during the time Sir John Berkley commanded in that action.

The Prince finding the public service in no degree advanced by the commissioners of Somerset, and that though there was no progress made in the association affected.

affected, and undertaken by them, yet it served to cross and oppose all other attempts whatsoever; those who had no mind to do any thing, satisfying themselves with the visible impossibility of that design, and yet the other, who had first proposed it, thinking themselves engaged to consent to no alteration; and his Highness being informed by a gentleman, (sent by him, at his first coming to Bristol, to the two farthest western counties, to press the execution of whatsoever was promised in order to the association), "that those two counties of Devon and Cornwall were entirely devoted to serve the Prince, in what manner soever he should propose," he thought fit to summon the commissioners of all the associated counties, to attend upon him in some convenient place, where, upon full consideration, such conclusions might be made, as might best advance the work in hand, both for the reduction of Taunton, and raising a marching army; which counsel had been sooner given, and had in truth been fit to be put in practice upon his first coming to Bristol, when he discerned the flatness, peremptoriness, and inactivity of the gentlemen of Somerset; from whom it was evident nothing was to be expected, till, by the unanimity and strength of the two western counties, that county could be driven and compelled to do what was necessary, and to recede from their own sullen and positive determinations; which had been easy to do, but that shortly after his Highness came to Bristol, upon what apprehensions no man knew, there was great jealousy at Oxford of his going farther west; and thereupon direction given, "that he should not remove from Bristol, but upon weighty reasons, and with which his Majesty was to be first acquainted." Whereas by his instructions, "he was to make his residence in such a place, as by

The Prince summons the commissioners of the four associated western counties to Bridgewater.

“the council should be thought most conducing to his affairs.” However, such a meeting with all the commissioners being demonstrably necessary, and Bristol thought at too great a distance from the West, beside that the plague begun to break out there very much for the time of the year, his Highness resolved to go to Bridgewater for a few days, and to summon thither the commissioners, the rather to give some countenance to the business of Taunton, then closely besieged by Sir John Berkley; and to that purpose directed his letters to the several commissioners to attend him there, on Wednesday the three and twentieth of April; the King being then at Oxford, preparing for the field, Prince Rupert at Worcester, levying men, and the rebels at London in some disorder and confusion about their model, having newly removed the Earl of Essex, and Earl of Manchester, Earl of Denbigh, and Sir William Waller, from any command, and substituted Sir Thomas Fairfax General; who was, out of the other broken and almost dissolved forces, to mould a new army, which was then in no very hopeful forwardness.

Upon the day, the Prince came to Bridgewater; and was attended by a great body of the commissioners of Somerset, that place being near the center of that great county; there appeared for Dorsetshire, as sent from the rest, Sir John Strangwaies, Mr. Anchetil Grey, and Mr. Ryves; for Devonshire, Sir Peter Ball, Sir George Parry, Mr. Saint Hill, and Mr. Muddyford; and for Cornwall, Sir Henry Killebrew, Mr. Coriton, Mr. Scawen, and Mr. Roscorroth. The whole body waited on the Prince the next morning; and were then told, “that his coming thither was to receive their advice, “and to give his assistance in what might concern the “peace and welfare of each particular county, and
“might

“ might best advance the general service of the King ;
 “ that if the association which had been proposed,
 “ seemed to them, by the accidents and mutations
 “ which had happened since the time of that first pro-
 “ posal,” (as in truth very notable ones had happened),
 “ not fit now to be further prosecuted, he was ready to
 “ consent to any alteration they should propose, and to
 “ join with them in any other expedient ; and wished
 “ them therefore to confer together, what was best to
 “ be done ; and when they were ready to propose any
 “ thing to him, he would be ready to receive it.” Af-
 ter two or three days consultation amongst themselves,
 they were unanimously of opinion, (except Sir John
 Stawel, who, against all the rest, and against all that
 could be said to him, continued positive for the general
 rising of one and all, and for that alone), “ that that de-
 “ sign was for the present to be laid aside ; and that,
 “ instead thereof, those counties, according to their se-
 “ veral known proportions, would in a very short time”
 (as I remember a month was the utmost) “ raise and
 “ arm six thousand foot, besides the Prince’s guards,
 “ which would be full two thousand more ; not reckon-
 “ ing those of the Lord Goring’s, which were fifteen
 “ hundred, but including the foot of Sir John Berkley
 “ and Sir Richard Greenvil, then before Taunton ;”
 which all men concluded would be reduced in less than
 a month. This proposition being approved by the
 Prince, all particulars were agreed upon : the several
 days for the rendezvous of the new levies, and the offi-
 cers to whom the men were to be delivered, named ; and
 warrants issued out accordingly : all things requisite for
 the speedy reduction of Taunton ordered and directed ;
 so that, towards the taking that place, and the raising

an army speedily, all things stood so fair, that more could not be wished.

As this journey to Bridgewater wrought this good effect; so it produced one notable inconvenience, and discovered another. The Prince, having before his coming from Oxford been very little conversant with business, had been persuaded, from his coming out, to sit frequently, if not constantly, in council, to mark and consider the state of affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking and judging upon what was said; to the which he had with great ingenuity applied himself: but coming to Bridgewater, and having an extraordinary kindness for Mrs. Windham, who had been his nurse, he was not only diverted by her folly and petulance from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business, but accustomed to hear her speak negligently and scornfully of the Council; which, though at first it made no impression in him of disrespect towards them, encouraged other people who heard it, to the like liberty; and from thence grew an irreverence towards them; which reflected upon himself, and served to bring prejudice to their counsels throughout the whole course. She had many private designs of benefit and advantage to herself and her children, and the qualifying her husband to do all acts of power without control upon his neighbours, and laboured to procure grants or promises of reversions of lands from the Prince; and finding that the Prince was not to transact any such thing without the advice of the Council, and that they were not like to comply in those enterprises, she contrived to raise jealousies and dislikes between them, and kindled such a faction in the Prince's family, as produced many inconveniences. For from hence Sir

Charles

Charles Berkley, who had a promise to be made Controller of the Prince's Household, and Mr. Long, who had the like promise to be his Secretary, when he should be created Prince of Wales, (till which time those officers were never made), began to think they had injury done them, that they were not presently of the Prince's Council, to which the places they were to have gave them title; though they knew well, that the lords who then attended upon the Prince, were of the King's Privy Council, and in that capacity only, waited upon his Highness; and that the other were only of the Prince's own Council for his revenue, and for the administration of the Dutchy of Cornwall, for which his Highness had now his livery.

However, these fancies, thus weakly grounded and entertained, made such an impression upon those persons, that they united themselves into a faction, and prevailed over the weakness of the Earl of Berkshire to join with them; and, by degrees, all of them joined with all other discontented persons, to render the Council to be much neglected and undervalued. Lastly, she being a woman of no good breeding, and of a country pride, *Nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, valued herself much upon the power and familiarity which her neighbours might see she had with the Prince of Wales; and therefore, upon all occasions, in company, and when the concurrence of the people was greatest, would use great boldness towards him; and, which was worse than all this, she affected in all companies, where she let herself out to any freedom, a very negligent and disdainful mention of the person of the King; the knowledge of which humour of hers, was one reason that made his Majesty unwilling his son should go farther west than Bristol; since he knew Bridgewater must be a stage in that motion.

tion. This her ill disposition was no sooner known to the lords, who were all absolute strangers to her before, than they took care that his Highness should make no longer residence in that garrison.

The other inconvenience that it discovered, was the design of the Lord Goring to have the command of the West. For then it grew very apparent, that, whatever had been pretended for Kent or Suffex, he had, from the beginning, affected that charge; and, I fear, had some other encouragement for it, than was then avowed. And therefore, from his first coming into those parts, he had with great industry carested the commissioners of Somerset and Devon, and especially those whom he thought not well inclined to the Lord Hopton; whom, by all arts, he endeavoured to undervalue; inveighing against "the too great contribution, assigned to the garrison of Bristol; and that any should be allowed to the unnecessary garrison (as he called it) at Lampport;" which had been lately settled by the Lord Hopton; and, as appeared afterwards, was of vast importance: those discourses being most popular to the country, though most pernicious to the King: and promised "great strictness and severity of discipline, if that power under the Prince might be devolved to him." To Bridgewater he came at the same time from Bath, upon pretence of "visiting Taunton, and seeing whether the work were like to be soon done, that it might be worth the intending it;" but, in truth, to drive on his project for command with the commissioners; who were invited by Sir Peter Ball to make it one of their propositions to the Prince, "that the Lord Goring might be constituted his Lieutenant General;" which he himself had so absolutely digested, that, as if the matter itself had been out of question, he proposed privately to most of the Prince's

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[illegible]

into the West, that, as he had formed that design in his own thoughts from the first, of being about the Prince and resolved never to march with the army under Prince Rupert, (whose nature was not agreeable to him), so that he had purposely and willingly suffered Vandruske to relieve Taunton, and even Weymouth to be again recovered by that handful of men who had been beat out of it, lest the business of the West might be done without him, by other men; and that his presence there might not be thought necessary. For if Taunton had been reduced, as it must have been if that small party had not relieved it even in the last article, he could have had no pretence to have stayed in those parts, but must immediately have pursued his former design upon Sussex and those other counties, for which he had never any reasonable foundation; or have continued his march to the King; which he had less mind to do. When he first left Oxford, and went into Hampshire, which was before the end of the treaty at Uxbridge, he had, in his jovial fits, where he was always very unreserved, declared, with great resentment, "that his father was ill treated by the Queen in France, and that he hoped shortly to be in such a posture, that the King should find it reasonable to use both his father and himself better." And yet the King had even then, upon his suit, made his father captain of his guard of halberteers, and created him Earl of Norwich, whereby himself had the appellation of Lord, which he enough affected: and in his first debauches at Exeter, his brother Porter, who was Lieutenant General of his horse, informed some persons of honour in confidence, "that Goring resolved to make himself Lieutenant General to the Prince, or else to be very discontented." This advertisement was sent to some of the Council, upon his Highness's first coming to Bristol; and

nd was the first hint that ever they received, that he had affected that charge; and was not, with the rest of his behaviour, like to dispose them to wish that he might obtain his desire; but to do all that was in their power to prevent it.

The general business concerning the four counties being agreed and settled at Bridgewater, the commissioners for Devon desired to be heard in what concerned that particular county; and then informed his Highness, that, upon Sir Richard Greenvil's first entering upon the work of Plymouth, and his assurance under his hand, that he would take the town before Christmas-day, and that he would forthwith raise, arm, and pay twelve hundred horse, and six thousand foot, they had assigned him above one half of their whole contribution, amounting to above eleven hundred pounds a week; and, for the providing arms and ammunition, had assigned him the arrears of the contribution due from those hundreds allotted to him; which amounted to near 6000l.; he having likewise the whole contribution of Cornwall, being above seven hundred pounds weekly; and had received most part of the letter and subscription money of that county, towards the same service: that he had, from his first entering upon the charge, quietly enjoyed those contributions in Devon, which were duly paid; and had received the greatest part of the arrears assigned to him for the provision of arms and ammunition: notwithstanding all which, he had never bought above twenty barrels of powder, or any arms, but had received both the one and the other from them, out of their magazines; and had never maintained or raised near half the number of men to which he was obliged, till the week before he was required to march to Taunton; when he had

The commissioners of Devon complain of Sir Richard Greenvil.

“the *posse comitatus*, and out of them forced almost the
 “whole number of foot, which marched with him
 “thither, bringing them with him, as far as Exeter
 “unarmed; and there compelled the commissioners
 “to supply him with arms and ammunition; that
 “having left scarce two thousand foot and four hundred
 “horse before Plymouth, he continued still to receive
 “the whole contribution formerly assigned when he was
 “to have twelve hundred horse and six thousand foot;
 “and would not part with any of it: so that he received
 “more out of Devonshire for the blocking up of Ply-
 “mouth, (having all Cornwall to himself likewise), than
 “was left for the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, Ban-
 “stable, and Tiverton, and for the finishing those forti-
 “fications, victualling the garrisons, providing arms and
 “ammunition; with which they had before not only
 “supplied themselves, but had sent great quantities to
 “the King’s army, to the Lord Goring, and to the siege
 “of Taunton: that he would not suffer them to send
 “any warrants to collect the letter and subscription
 “money, to settle the excise, or meddle with delinquents’
 “estates in the hundreds assigned to him for contribu-
 “tion; and had those continual contests with Sir John
 “Berkley, being Colonel General of the county, and the
 “other governors of garrisons; pretending that he had
 “power to command them; that there was such an ani-
 “mosity grown between them, that they very much
 “apprehended the danger of those divisions; there
 “having been some blood shed, and men killed, upon
 “their private contests:” and therefore besought his
 “Highness, “by his authority, to settle the limits of their
 “several jurisdictions, in order to the martial affairs;
 “and likewise to order Sir Richard Greenvil to receive
 “no more contribution, than would suffice for the main-
 “tenance

“ tenance of those men who continued before Plymouth;
 “ whereby they could be only enabled to perform their
 “ parts of the association.”

This was pressed with so much earnestness and reason, that it was thought very advisable for his Highness himself to go to Exeter, where both the commissioners and Sir Richard Greenvil were; and there, upon the hearing of all that could be said, to settle the whole dispute. But at the same time, and whilst that matter was in consideration, letters came from his Majesty to his Highness and the lords, expressly inhibiting his going farther westward; upon what reasons I cannot imagine; and thereupon the Prince himself returned to Bristol on Wednesday the thirtieth of April, having stayed at Bridgewater only seven days; and sent the Lords Capel ^{Upon which the} and Colepepper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ^{Prince sends three com-} to Exeter, with instructions “ to examine all the com- ^{missioners of his own} plaints and allegations of the commissioners, and to ^{to Exeter,} settle the business of the contribution; and upon view ^{and so to} of the several commissions of Sir John Berkley and ^{return to} Sir Richard Greenvil, so to agree the matter of ju- ^{Bristol.} risdiction, that the public service might not be ob-
 “ structed.”

As soon as the lords appointed by his Highness to go to Exeter came thither, they went the same hour to visit Sir Richard Greenvil, who was still bedrid of his hurt. They intended it only as a visit, and so would not reply, at that time, to many very sharp and bitter complaints and invectives he made against Sir John Berkley, (who was then at the leaguer before Taunton), but told him, “ that they would come to him again the next day, and “ consider of all businesses.” Accordingly they came, when, with great bitterness, he again complained of the Governor, and some disrespect from his Lieutenant Go-

vernor:

vernor: but when he was pressed to particulars, he mentioned principally some high and disdainful speeches, the most of which were denied by the other, and the withholding some prisoners from him, which he had sent his marshal for near Taunton. The truth of which was this; whilst Sir Richard was before Taunton, he had sent for one Mr. Symms, a justice of peace of the county, a rich and decrepit man, who lived within three miles of that town. He charged him with some inclinations to the rebels, and of favouring their proceedings. The gentleman stood upon his justification and innocence, and desired to be put upon any trial. However, Sir Richard told him, "he was a traitor, and should redeem himself at a thousand pounds, or else he would proceed in another way;" and gave him three days to provide the money. Before the time expired, Sir Richard was hurt, and carried to Exeter; whither he no sooner came, but he dispatched his marshal to fetch Mr. Symms to him; who appealed to Sir John Berkley, (who had then the command), and desired to be put upon any trial; and (besides that he was of a very infirm body, and unfit for travel) many gentlemen of the best quality gave him a very good testimony, and undertook for his appearance, whenever he should be called upon. Upon this Sir John Berkley discharged the marshal, and writ a very civil letter to Sir Richard Greenvil, of the whole matter; "and that he would see the gentleman forth coming upon the least warning; but that it would be an act of great cruelty, to carry him a prisoner, in that indisposition of health, from his house." Sir Richard looked upon this as the robbing him of a thousand pounds, and writ such a letter to Sir John Berkley, so full of ill language and reproach, as I have never seen the like from and to a gentleman; and complained to

s of the injury. We told him, "that neither he, nor Sir John Berkley, had any authority to meddle with Mr. Syms, or any persons of that quality; who could not be looked upon as prisoners of war; but if in truth he should prove to be a delinquent, and guilty of those crimes objected against him, his fine and composition was due to the King, who had assigned the same to the Prince for the public service; and that there were commissioners, before whom he was regularly to be tried, and with whom he might only compound." He would not understand the reason of this, but insisted upon "Sir John Berkley's protecting Syms, as a great indignity to himself." On the other hand, Sir John Berkley complained by his letters, "that those soldiers brought to Taunton by Greenvil, every day mouldered away, and he had reason to believe it was by his direction; for that those that stayed, and the officers, were very backward in performing their duties; and that, after the taking of Wellington-house, he had commanded that nothing should be done towards the defeating it, because it might possibly be fit to put a garrison into it, if the siege should be raised from Taunton; but that the officer, who was under Greenvil, had, notwithstanding such command, burned it: that he proceeded in the levying monies, and sending out extravagant warrants throughout the county;" and many other particulars.

Sir Richard Greenvil denied, "that the soldiers left the leaguer, or that Wellington-house was burned by any direction of his;" though it appeared, that all such soldiers as left their colours and came to him, were kindly used, and had money given to them by him; and that Lieutenant Colonel Robinson, after he had received orders from Sir John Berkley not to flight Wellington-house,

house, rode to Exeter to Sir Richard Greenvil, and immediately, upon his return from him, caused it to be burnt. Greenvil said, "that he levied no monies, nor issued out any warrants, but what he had authority to do by his commission." In the end they shewed him their instructions from the Prince, "thoroughly to examine all differences between them; and, upon view of both their commissions, to agree what limits each of them should observe." Thereupon he shewed them his commission in paper, under his Majesty's sign-manual, attested by the Lord Digby, by which he was authorized "to command the forces before Plymouth;" and in order thereunto, with such clauses of latitude and power, as he might both raise the *posse*, and command the Trained Bands, and indeed the whole forces of both counties; and was to receive orders from his Majesty, and his Lieutenant General; and was likewise at that time High Sheriff of Devon. Sir John Berkley's commission was precedent, and more formal, being under the Great Seal of England, "of Colonel General of the counties of Devon and Cornwall, and to command the whole forces of both counties, as well Trained Bands as others;" so that, though their commissions were not in intention all one, yet they included clauses and powers so much the same, that either of them had authority enough to disturb the other; and he that only saw his own, might reasonably think he had power over the other: which, between persons so disinclined one to the other as they were grown to be, might have proved very fatal, if the remedy had not been so near by his Highness's authority.

After the perusal of their commissions, they shewed him their instructions, concerning the regulating the contributions, in proportionable assignments for the several

veral services; and desired his opinion, "what forces
 " were now necessary for the blocking up of Plymouth,
 " since any attempt for the taking it was to be laid
 " aside, at least for a time? And that thereupon, such
 " assignation might be made to that purpose, as was suf-
 " ficient, and the rest otherwise disposed of." He told
 them, "that the forces then there (being about fifteen
 " hundred foot and four hundred horse, of the Devon-
 " shire side) were sufficient;" and proposed allowance
 little enough for the service; and then said, "that it
 " troubled him to be confined to such an employment,
 " as the blocking up a place, whilst there was like to be
 " so much action in the field; and therefore he hoped,
 " his Highness would give him leave to wait on him in
 " the army; where he thought he might do him much
 " better service." They told him, "they had authority
 " from the Prince," (for some of his friends had men-
 tioned the same, soon after he had received his wound),
 "if they found his health able to bear it, and his in-
 " clination led him that way, to let him know, that his
 " Highness would be glad of his service, in the mould-
 " ing that army which was then raising; which, allowing
 " two thousand foot to the recruiting the Lord Goring,
 " would be in view six thousand foot, and above two
 " thousand horse with the guards; in which he had de-
 " signed him the second place of command." But then,
 they said, "they knew not where to place the command
 " before Plymouth." Sir Richard very cheerfully re-
 ceived the proposition for himself in the army; and for
 Plymouth, he said, "no man was fit to undertake the
 " work there, but Sir John Berkley, who had the com-
 " mand of both counties: that it was visible by the dif-
 " ferences and breaches that had been between them,
 " how inconvenient it would be to have that charge in-
 " dependent;

“dependent ; whereas, if it were in one hand, the unanimous consent of both counties, and all the forces :
“them, would more easily do the business.”

All things being thus agreed upon, as far as they could be without Sir John Berkley's consent, who was then before Taunton ; the lords resolved to return to the Prince, and in their way to dispose Sir John Berkley to what had been proposed ; and left the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Exeter, to agree with the commissioners upon the settlement of the contributions, and to settle some other particulars which they had resolved upon. The whole contribution of the county of Devon amounted to two thousand pound weekly ; whereof so many hundreds were assigned by the commissioners, for the maintenance of the forces before Plymouth, as amounted to the just proportion and establishment proposed by Sir Richard Greenvil himself ; and then so many to the garrisons of Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstable, and Tiverton, as amounted to the payment of such forces, as, on all hands, were agreed to be absolutely necessary for their defence, at the lowest establishment. All which being done, upon supposition that the whole contribution, being two thousand pound weekly, would be, according to the assignments, exactly paid, there remained not a penny overplus, for the buying ammunition and arms, for the finishing fortifications, for victualling the garrisons, or for blocking up of Lyme ; which if it were not done, all that part of the country would be liable to that pressure ; and so, unable to pay contribution where it was assigned. But it was supposed, the last might be done by drawing out some numbers from the several garrisons, if there were no disturbance from abroad ; and the rest must be supplied out of the excise, (the major part whereof was by the King assigned for the support
of

of the Princess Henrietta, left at Exeter), and some other extraordinary ways to be thought of; the letter money and subscription money being almost exhausted.

His Highness was no sooner returned to Bristol from ^{The Lord Goring joins the King at Oxford.} Bridgewater, which was on the last day of April, than General Goring was sent for by the King, to draw his horse and dragoons towards Oxford; that thereby his Majesty might free himself from Cromwell; who, with a very strong party of horse and dragoons, lay in wait, to interrupt his joining with Prince Rupert about Worcester. How unwelcome soever these orders were to the Lord Goring, yet there was no remedy but he must obey them: and it was now hoped, that the West should be hereafter freed from him, where he was at that time very ungracious. He marched with that expedition towards the King, who was then at Woodstock, that he fell upon a horse quarter of Cromwell's, and another party of Fairfax's horse, as they were attempting a passage over the river of Isis, so prosperously, (the very evening before he came to the King), that he broke and defeated them with a great slaughter, which gave him great reputation, and made him exceedingly welcome: and it was indeed a very seasonable action, to discountenance and break such a party, in the infancy of their new model; and did break their present measures, and made Fairfax to appoint a new place of rendezvous for his new army, at a greater distance from the King's forces.

Prince Rupert, who now met with very little opposition in council, had, throughout the winter, disposed the King to resolve "to march northwards, and to fall upon the Scottish army in Yorkshire, before Fairfax should be able to perfect his new model to that degree, as to take the field." This design was not unreasonable;

nor the Prince to blame for desiring to take revenge on them for what passed the last year; which, now they were separated from the English, who had indeed defeated him, he believed was easy to be done. That purpose of marching northward was now the more hastened, that, in the way, Chester might be relieved; which was closely besieged; and then they might come soon enough to Pontefract-castle, before which the Scottish army then was; and if they could defeat that, the King would be again, upon the matter, master of the North: which, by the insolence of the Scots, and the dislike they had of the new model, was conceived to be better affected than ever. The next day after Goring came to the King, the army was drawn to a rendezvous, and consisted then of five thousand foot, and above six thousand horse; an army not to be reasonably lessened in the beginning of a campaign, when the King was to expect he should have so much to do; and if it had been kept together, it is very probable that the summer might have been crowned with better success.

Fairfax was then about Newbury, not in readiness to march; yet reported to be much more unready than he was. It was said, that his design was to carry his whole army to the relief of Taunton, brought almost to extremity; which if he could bring to pass, would give him great reputation, and would make the Parliament near sharers with the King in the interest of the West. Upon this prospect, it was thought reasonable, and accordingly proposed, "that the King himself would march
 " with his army into the West; and thereby, not only
 " prevent the relief of Taunton, but compel Fairfax to
 " fight, before he should be able to join with Cromwell;
 " who had not yet gathered his troops together." This was the concurrent advice of the whole Council with which
 the

the King used to consult, Prince Rupert only excepted, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the northern horse; which were impatient to be in their own country. Now the very contrary affections towards each other, between Prince Rupert and the Lord Goring, began to cooperate to one and the same end. The Prince found that Goring, as a man of a ready wit, and an excellent speaker, was like to have most credit with the King in all debates; and was jealous, that, by his friendship with the Lord Digby, he would quickly get such an interest with his Majesty, that his own credit would be much eclipsed. Hereupon, he did no less desire that Goring should return again into the West, than Goring did, not to remain where Prince Rupert commanded. This produced a great confidence and friendship between them, and the Prince told him all that any of the Council had spoken freely to him, when his Highness abhorred nothing more than that Goring should be near the Prince of Wales; and Goring said all of the Council, which he believed would most irreconcile him to them. So they both agreed to do all they could, to lessen the credit and authority of the Council. The King was desired to receive the information and state of the West from Goring; who, upon the late good fortune he had, and by the artifices of the Lord Digby, was too easily believed. He informed the King with all imaginable confidence, "that if, by the positive command of the Prince, "contrary to his opinion and advice, his forces had not "been taken from him, and applied to the siege of "Taunton, he had doubtless totally ruined all Waller's "forces, and prevented the coming of those parties who "had given his Majesty so much trouble at Oxford: "that he had been always used, upon his resort to the "Prince, with great disrespect, being not called into the

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" Council,

“ Council, but put to an attendance without, amongst
 “ inferior suitors;” and then told many particular passage
 at Bridgewater, of which he raised advantage to himself
 upon the prejudice he begot to others.

Whereas the truth of the design upon Taunton is before set down, with all the circumstances ; and Waller was marched beyond Salisbury, before the Lord Goring knew where he was ; and confessed, there was no overtaking him ; and he had always received as much respect from the Prince and Council, as could be given to a subject ; being constantly called, and admitted to Council when he was present ; and when absent, opinions and advices sent to him from the Council, upon such particulars as himself proposed, with a full reference to his discretion, to do, upon the place, as he judged most meet : yet, I say, he got so much credit, that the King, by his letter of the tenth of May to the Prince, directed, “ that General Goring should be admitted into all consultations and debates, and advised withal, as if he were
 “ one of the established Council ; that Prince Rupert
 “ having granted him power to give commissions in that
 “ army, all commissions to be granted should pass by
 “ General Goring ; and that none should be granted by
 “ the Prince, in his own name, otherwise than in such
 “ cases as were of relation merely to the association : that
 “ the Council should contribute their opinions and advices to General Goring, but that his Highness should
 “ carefully forbear to give unto the Lord Goring any
 “ positive or binding orders ;” whereas, by his instructions, when he came from Oxford, he was to put both his commissions, of Generalissimo, and of General of the association, in execution, as he found most convenient ; his Majesty himself then entertaining very little hope of the association, as it was proposed ; and therefore, by his
 letters

letters to the Prince of the twentieth of April, which came to him at Bridgewater, all the assignations formerly made towards the association, were directed to be disposed, and converted to such uses, as by the advice of his Council should be found most advantageous to the service of those parts; and thereupon the levies were consented to, and directed as is before mentioned. With these triumphant orders, the Lord Goring returned into the West; where we shall now leave him, and wait upon his Majesty, in his unfortunate march, until we find cause enough to lament that counsel, which so fatally dismissed Goring, and his forces, at a time, in which, if he had been born to serve his country, his presence might have been of great use and benefit to the King; which it was never after in any occasion.

When Goring was thus separated from the King's army, his Majesty marched to Evesham; and in his way, drew out his garrison from Cambrden-house; which had brought no other benefit to the public, than the enriching the licentious Governor thereof; who exercised an illimited tyranny over the whole country, and on his leave of it, in wantonly burning the noble structure where he had too long inhabited, and which, many years before, had cost above thirty thousand pounds building. Within few days after the King left Worcester, it was surpris'd by the enemy, or rather surpris'd taken for want of men to defend the place. The Governor and all the little garrison were slain. The loss of this place was an ill omen to the summer; and, upon the matter, cut off all communication between Worcester and Oxford: which was effected by the taking of Hawkesley-hill, which the rebels had formerly possessed, and from which the King's army was driven.

Marches of
the King's
army to-
wards the
North,
while Sir
Thomas
Fairfax,
with his,
sate down
before Ox-
ford.

the Governor, and one hundred and twenty prisoners; who served to redeem those who were lost in Evelham. And so, by easy and slow marches, the army prosecuted their way towards Chester. But, in Staffordshire, the Lord Byron, who was Governor of Chester, met the King; and informed him, "that the rebels, upon the "noise of his Majesty's advance, were drawn off;" and so there was no more to be done, but to prosecute the northern design; which was now intended, and the army upon its march accordingly, when intelligence was brought, "that Fairfax had sent a strong party to relieve "Taunton, and was himself, with his army, sate down "before Oxford." This could not but make some alteration, at least a pause in the execution of the former counsels: and yet Oxford was known to be in so good a condition, that the loss of it could not in any degree be apprehended, and nothing could more reasonably have been wished, than that Fairfax should be thoroughly engaged before it: and it was concluded, "that the best "way to draw him from thence, would be to fall upon "some place possessed by the Parliament."

The King
forms, and
takes Lei-
cester.

They had no town so considerable near the place where the King then was, as Leicester; in which there was a good garrison, under the command of Sir Robert Pye; and Prince Rupert, who was always pleased with any brisk attempt, cheerfully entertained the first motion, and sent Sir Marmaduke Langdale forthwith to surround it (which was of great extent) with his horse; and the next day, being the last of May, the whole army was drawn about the town, and the Prince, having taken a view of it, commanded a battery to be forthwith raised against an old high stone wall, on the south side of the town; which, by his own continued presence, was finished with admirable diligence: which done, he sent a sum-

mons

sons to the Governor; who returned not such an answer as was required. Thereupon, the battery began to play; and, in the space of four hours, made such a breach, that it was thought counsellable, the same night to make a general assault with the whole army, in several places; but principally at the breach; which was defended with great courage and resolution; insomuch, that the King's forces were twice repulsed with great loss and slaughter; and were even ready to draw off in despair: when another party, on the other side of the town, under the command of Colonel Page, seconded by a body of horse that came but that day from Newark, and, putting themselves on foot, advanced, with their swords and pistols, with the other, entered the town; and made way for their fellows to follow them: so that, by the break of day, the assault having continued all the night, all the King's army entered the line. Then the Governor, and all the officers and soldiers, to the number of twelve hundred, threw down their arms, and became prisoners of war: whilst the conquerors pursued their advantage, with the usual licence of rapine and plunder, and miserably sacked the whole town, without any distinction of persons or places; churches and hospitals, as well as other houses, were made a prey to the enraged and greedy soldier, to the exceeding regret of the King; who well knew, that, how disaffected soever that town was generally, there were yet many who had faithful hearts to him, and who he heartily wished might be distinguished from the rest: but those seasons admit no difference of persons. Though the place was well gotten, because so little time had been spent in the getting it, yet it was not without very considerable loss on the King's side; there being near two hundred soldiers dead upon the
places

places of assault, with many officers; Colonel Saint George, and others of name; besides many more wounded and maimed. The King presently made the Lord Loughborough, a younger son of the Earl of Huntington, and one who had served him eminently from the beginning of the war, Governor of Leicester; and Sir Matthew Appleyard, a soldier of known courage and experience, his Lieutenant Governor.

The taking of Leicester, the chief town of that province, even as soon as he came before it, and in that manner, purely by an act of great courage, gave the King's army great reputation, and made a wonderful impression of terror upon the hearts of those at Westminster; who now revolved the conditions which were offered at Uxbridge; which they had refused. They began to curse their new model; and to reproach those who had persuaded them "so ingratfully to throw off
" their old General, who was ready to foment all their
" discontents. It was not above twenty days, that the
" King's army had been in the field, and in that short
" time it had reduced two strong garrisons of theirs,
" without giving the soldiers any conditions, Hawkesly-
" house in Worcestershire, and the town of Leicester:
" whilst their new General Fairfax had only faced Ox-
" ford at a distance, to try whether the ladies would pre-
" vail for the giving up of the town, to pacify their
" fears; and had attempted to take a poor house that
" lay near, Borstall-house, and had been beaten from
" thence with considerable loss, and had drawn off from
" both, very little to his honour." These discourses were
so public in the city, and had so much credit in both
Houses of Parliament, that they exceedingly desired
peace, and exercised their thoughts only how they might
revive

revive the old treaty, or set a new one on foot ; when the evil genius of the kingdom in a moment shifted the whole scene.

Leicester was a post, where the King might, with all possible convenience and honour, have sat still, till his army might have been recruited, as well as thoroughly refreshed. Colonel Gerrard was upon his march towards him from Wales, with a body of three thousand horse and foot : and he had reason to expect, that the Lord Goring would be very shortly with him with his horse ; for he was not departed from the King above four or five days, with those orders which are mentioned before, (and with which he was so well pleased), but that the King saw cause to repent his separation, and sent other orders to recall him as soon as was possible. But the King's fate, and the natural unsteadiness and irresolution of those about him, hurried him into counsels very disagreeable to the posture he was in. He knew not that Fairfax was gone from Oxford ; and the intelligence, which some men pretended to have received from thence, was, " that it was in distress." The Duke of York remained there ; the Council, many lords and ladies, who sent intelligence to their friends, and all the magazines were there ; and if all these should fall into the enemy's hands, Leicester would appear a very poor recompence. These particulars being unskilfully, yet warmly pressed by those who could not be understood to mean amiss, the King resolved to march directly for Oxford ; and in order thereunto, within five days after the taking of Leicester, he appointed the rendezvous for his army ; where he might yet very reasonably have been discouraged from prosecuting that intention ; for it then appeared evidently, how very much it was weakened by and since that action, by the loss of those who were killed and wounded

in

The King
marches
back
towards
Oxford.

in the storm; by the absence of those who were left behind in the garrison; and by the running away of very many with their plunder, who would in few days be returned.

The number of the King's foot which remained did not amount to above three thousand five hundred; what was not a body sufficient to fight a battle for a crowd. Then, all the northern horse, who had promised themselves, and were promised by the King, that they should go into their own country, were so displeased with the new resolution, that they were with great difficulty restrained from disbanding; and, though they were at last prevailed with to march, were not enough recovered to be depended upon in any sudden action. Notwithstanding all this, the march was continued; the next day, at Harborough, the intelligence came "that Fairfax was drawn off from Oxford, without having yet approached so near it, as to discharge one piece of cannon upon it; that he had been beaten off from Beaulieu-stall-house with the loss of officers, as well as soldiers; and that he was marched with his whole army to Buckingham." But this kindled a greater appetite to find him out, than there was before. Indeed there was less reason to march northward, since they might well apprehend the Scottish army in their face, and Fairfax in their rear. But there was the same reason still for their retiring back to Leicester, or to Worcester, where they might expect, and could not fail of an addition of forces to the army; and where the enemy, who must now be obliged to find them out, must come with many disadvantages. These considerations were all laid aside, and every body believed, that Fairfax's army was much dispirited, by having failed in their two first enterprises; and that it was now led out of the way, that it might recover

Sir Thomas
Fairfax
draws off
from
Oxford.

ver courage, before it should be brought to fight with victorious troops as the King's were : and therefore, at it was best to find them out, whilst their fear was yet on them : all men concluding that to be true, which eir own wishes suggested to them. So the army marched to Daventry in Northamptonshire : where, for want of knowing where the enemy was, or what he intended to do, the King remained in a quiet posture the space of five days.

Upon the thirteenth of June the King received intelligence, that Fairfax was advanced to Northampton, with a strong army ; much superior to the numbers he had formerly been advertised of. Whereupon, his Majesty retired the next day to Harborough ; and meant to have gone back to Leicester, that he might draw more foot out of Newark, and stand upon his defence, till the other forces, which he expected, could come up to him. But, that very night, an alarm was brought to Harborough, that Fairfax himself was quartered within fix miles. A council was presently called, the former resolution of retiring presently laid aside, and a new one as quickly taken, " to fight ;" to which there was always an immoderate appetite, when the enemy was within any distance. They would not stay to expect his coming, but would go back to meet him. And so, in the morning early, being Saturday the fourteenth of June, all the army was drawn up, upon a rising ground of very great advantage, about a mile south from Harborough, (which was left at their back), and there put in order to give or receive the charge. The main body of the foot was led by the Lord Aftley, (whom the King had lately made a baron), consisting of about two thousand and five hundred foot ; the right wing of horse, being about two thousand, was led by Prince Rupert ; the left wing, consisting

fitting of all the northern horse, with those from Newcastle, which did not amount to above sixteen hundred, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale; in the reserve were the King's life-guard, commanded by the Earl of Lindsey, and Prince Rupert's regiment of foot (both which did make very little above eight hundred, with the King's horse-guards, commanded by the Lord Bernard Stuart, (newly made Earl of Litchfield), who made that day about five hundred horse.

The army, thus disposed in good order, made a fire on that ground to expect the enemy. About eight o'clock in the morning it began to be doubted, whether the intelligence they had received of the enemy was true. Upon which the scout-master was sent to make farther discovery; who, it seems, went not far enough; but returned and averred, "that he had been three or four miles forward, and could neither discover nor hear any thing of them:" presently, a report was raised in the army, "that the enemy was retired." Prince Rupert thereupon drew out a party of horse and musketeers, both to discover and engage them, the army remaining still in the same place and posture they had been in. His Highness had not marched above a mile, when he received certain intelligence of their advance, and in a short time after, he saw the van of their army, but it seems not so distinctly, but that he conceived they were retiring. Whereupon, he advanced nearer with his horse, and sent back, "that the army should march up to him;" and the messenger who brought the order said, "that the Prince desired they should make haste." Hereupon the advantage ground was quitted, and the excellent order they were in, and an advance made towards the enemy, as well as might be. By that time they had marched about a mile and an half, the horse of the

the enemy was discerned to stand upon a high ground out Naseby; whence seeing the manner of the King's arch, in a full campaign, they had leisure and opportunity to place themselves, with all the advantages they could desire. The Prince's natural heat and impatience would never endure an enemy long in his view; nor let him believe that they had the courage to endure his charge. Thus the army was engaged before the cannon was turned, or the ground made choice of upon which they were to fight: so that courage was only to be relied upon, where all conduct failed so much.

It was about ten of the clock when the battle began: The battle of Naseby. The first charge was given by Prince Rupert; who, with his own, and his brother Prince Maurice's troop, performed it with his usual vigour; and was so well seconded, that he bore down all before him, and was master of six pieces of the rebels' best cannon. The Lord Astley, with his foot, though against the hill, advanced upon their foot; who discharged their cannon at them, but over-shot them, and so did their musqueteers too. For the foot on either side hardly saw each other till they were within carbine-shot, and so only gave one volley; the King's foot, according to their usual custom, falling in with their swords, and the butt-ends of their musquets; with which they did very notable execution, and put the enemy into great disorder and confusion. The right wing of horse and foot being thus fortunately engaged and advanced, the left wing, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale, in five bodies, advanced with equal resolution: and was encountered by Cromwell, who commanded the right wing of the enemy's horse, with seven hundred greater and more numerous than either of the others: and had, besides the odds in number, the advantage of the ground; for the King's horse were obliged to march

up the hill, before they could charge them : yet they did their duty, as well as the place, and great inequality of numbers, would enable them to do. But being flanked on both sides by the enemy's horse, and pressed back before they could get to the top of the hill, they gave back, and fled farther and faster than became them. Four of the enemy's bodies, close, and in good order, followed them, that they might not rally again ; while they never thought of doing ; and the rest charged the King's foot, who had till then so much the advantage over theirs ; whilst Prince Rupert, with the right wing, pursued those horse which he had broken and defeated.

The King's reserve of horse, which was his own guards, with himself in the head of them, were ever ready to charge those horse who pursued his left wing. When, on a sudden, such a panic fear seized upon them, that they all run near a quarter of a mile without stopping ; which happened upon an extraordinary accident that hath seldom fallen out, and might well disturb and disorder very resolute troops, as those were, and the best horse in the army. The King, as was said before, was even upon the point of charging the enemy, in the head of his guards, when the Earl of Carnewarthe, who rode next to him, (a man never suspected for infidelity, nor yet one from whom the King would have received counsel in such a case), on a sudden, laid his hand on the bridle of the King's horse, and swearing two or three full mouthed Scottish oaths, (for of that nation he was), said, " will you go upon your death in an instant ? " and, before his Majesty understood what he would have, turned his horse round ; upon which a word run through the troops, " that they should *march* to the right hand ; " which led them both from charging the enemy, and assisting their own men. Upon this they all turned their
horses,

horses, and rode upon the spur, as if they were every man to shift for himself.

It is very true, that, upon the same ~~day~~ ^{morning} ~~was~~
stand, which was sent after them, ~~and a short distance~~
to the King; though the former ~~was not~~ ^{was} ~~not~~
more from him. By this time ~~Prince Rupert~~ ^{Prince Rupert} was re-
turned with a good body of ~~his men~~ ^{his men} ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~he~~
attended him in his prosperous ~~charge~~ ^{charge} ~~in the first way~~,
but they having, as they ~~thought~~ ^{thought} ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~they~~
could never be brought to rally ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} ~~into~~
order, or to charge the enemy. ~~The difference was ob-~~
served all along, in the discipline of the King's ~~troops~~,
and of those which marched under the command of
Fairfax and Cromwell, (for it was only under them, ~~and~~
had never been remarkable under ~~either~~ ^{either} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~Waller~~,
that, though the King's troops ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~
and routed those they ~~charged~~ ^{charged} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~themselves~~
themselves again in order, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~themselves~~
second charge again the ~~same~~ ^{same} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~the~~
that they had not an entire ~~victory~~ ^{victory} ~~over~~ ^{over} ~~the~~
the others troops, if they ~~were~~ ^{were} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~so~~
beaten, and routed, ~~perfectly~~ ^{perfectly} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~
good order, till they ~~reached~~ ^{reached} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~place~~
King and Prince could ~~do~~ ^{do} ~~nothing~~ ^{nothing} ~~to~~
troops, which stood ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~place~~
though they often ~~ran~~ ^{ran} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~risk~~
hazard of their ~~own~~ ^{own} ~~lives~~ ^{lives} ~~and~~
King was compelled ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~retire~~ ^{retire} ~~and~~
fax master of all ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~troops~~ ^{troops} ~~which~~
which was ~~his~~ ^{his} ~~own~~ ^{own} ~~troop~~
were, and ~~later~~ ^{later} ~~on~~ ^{on} ~~the~~
they shortly ~~reached~~ ^{reached} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~place~~
able to ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~
is, so ~~that~~ ^{that} ~~they~~ ^{they} ~~could~~

either of their Majesties, and improve the prejudice they had raised against them; and concealed other parts, which would have vindicated them from many particulars with which they had aspersed them.

I shall not stay, in this place, to mention the names of those noble persons who were lost in this battle; when the King and the kingdom were lost in it; though there were above one hundred and fifty officers, and gentlemen of prime quality, dead upon the spot; whose memories ought to be preserved. The enemy left no manner of cruelty unexercised that day; and in the pursuit killed above one hundred women, whereof some were the wives of officers of quality. The King and Prince Rupert, with the broken troops, marched by Leicester that night to Ashby de la Zouch; and the next day to Litchfield; and continued two days march more, till they came to Bewdley in Worcestershire; where they rested one day; and then went to Hereford, with some disjointed imagination, that they might, with those forces under Gerrard, who was General of South Wales, and was indeed upon his march, with a body of two thousand horse and foot, be able to have raised a new army. At Hereford, Prince Rupert, before any formed counsel was agreed upon, what the King should do next, left the King, and made haste to Bristol, that he might put that place into a condition to resist a powerful and victorious enemy; which, he had reason to believe, would in a short time appear before it. Nothing can be here more wondered at, than that the King should amuse himself about forming a new army in counties which had been vexed; and worn out with the oppressions of his own troops, and the licence of those governors, whom he had put over them; and not have immediately repaired into the West, where he had an army already formed, and a people,

The King
retires by
Litchfield to
Bewdley;
thence to
Hereford.

Thence
Prince Ru-
pert retires
to Bristol.

people, generally, well devoted to his service, whither all his broken troops, and General Gerrard, might have transported themselves, before Fairfax could have given them any interruption; who had somewhat to do, before he could bend his course that way: of which unhappy omission we shall have too much occasion to take more notice, after we have again visited the West.

The sickness which infested Bristol, and which was thought to be the plague, had made it necessary for the Prince of Wales to remove from thence: and no place was thought so convenient for his residence as Barnstable, a pleasant town in the north part of Devonshire, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, under the command of Sir Allen Apſley. And as his Highness was upon his way thither, he received the orders which the Lord Goring, who was now returned, had procured from the King; which he carefully transmitted to his Highness as soon as he arrived. At the same time, the Lord Colepepper received another letter from the Lord Digby, dated four days after the former orders, by which he signified "the King's express pleasure, that the Lord Goring should command those forces in chief; that Sir Richard Grenvil should be Major General of the whole army; that Sir John Berkley, as Colonel General of Devon and Cornwall, should intend the work before Plymouth; and that Prince Rupert would send his ratification of all these; that the Lord Hopton should attend his charge at the army, as General of the artillery." To which purpose, his Majesty with his own hand writ to the Lord Hopton; "and that the Prince should not be in the army, but keep his residence in a safe garrison; and there, by the advice of his Council, manage and improve the business of the West, and provide reserves, and reinforcements for the

The affairs of the West in the mean time.

" army :"

“ army :” with an intimation, “ that Mr. Smith’s house
 “ near Bristol, would be a convenient place for his resi-
 “ dence.”

The Prince and Council were much amazed at the orders and resolutions, so different from those which had been made ; and therefore they thought it fit to conceal them, till they might represent faithfully to his Majesty the state and condition of those parts, and their advice thereupon : well knowing, that if it were believed in the county, that the Prince’s authority was in the least manner superseded or diminished, besides other inconveniences, the hopeful levies, upon the agreement at Bridgewater, would be in a moment determined ; the gentlemen who were to raise regiments, professing, “ that they would receive no commissions but from his Majesty’s Highness.” But whatever care they used to conceal the matters of those letters, and to hasten away a dispatch to the King concerning them, the Lord Goring took as much care to publish them ; and from that time expressed all possible contempt at least of the Council attending the Prince. However, within three days, there was another change ; for the Lord Digby, (sending at the same time express orders from the King to the Lord Goring to that purpose), by his letters to the lords of the Council, of the nineteenth of May, within five days after the former, signified “ his Majesty’s pleasure, that “ the Lord Goring should march forthwith towards “ Northamptonshire, with all the forces could be spared, “ and that the Prince himself should stay at Dunstar-castle, and encourage the new levies :” it being (I presume) not known at Court, that the plague, which had driven him from Bristol, was as hot in Dunstar town, just under the walls of the castle. At the same time, a letter to the Lord Hopton from the King, ordered him

“to command the forces under the Prince.” The Prince was then, as was said before, in his way to Barnstable; having left five hundred of his guards to keep the fort in Bristol, the garrison being then very thin there, by reason of so many drawn from thence for the service before Taunton.

General Goring, upon his return from the King, found Taunton relieved by a strong party of two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, which unhappily arrived in the very article of reducing the town, and after their line was entered, and a third part of the town was burned. But this supply raised the siege, the besiegers drawing off without any loss; and the party that relieved them, having done their work, and left some of their foot in the town, made what haste they could, to make their retreat eastward; when Goring fell so opportunely upon their quarters, that he did them great mischief; and believed that, in that disorder, he had so shut them up between narrow passes, that they could neither retire to Taunton, nor march eastward: and doubtless he put them then at a great advantage, by the opinion of all men that knew the country. But, by the manner of disposing his parties, and for want of particular notice (of which many men spoke with great discourse, in two parties sent out several ways to fall upon the enemy at Petherton-bridge, the one commanded by Colonel Thornhill, the other by Sir William Lambert. (two diligent and sober officers), they fell into the hands of the enemy to the loss of many of their men: and the officers being dangerously hurt, and almost all slain, before they knew their error: though some of them got away with no more loss, yet the success was, notwithstanding which, very much to be regretted, was, or seemed, very much to be regretted.

distress them, that the place would be the sooner reduced, by the relief that had been put into it, and that in few days they would be at his mercy.

This was before the latter end of May; when, upon the confidence of speedily dispatching that work, the possible and effectual care was taken to supply him with provisions, and to send all the new levied men, and the Highness's own guards thither. Insomuch, as he had within few days a body of full five thousand foot, and four thousand horse; which he quartered at the most convenient places; rather for ease than duty; having published orders, under pretence of preserving the country from plunder, and with a promise of most exemplary discipline, "that sixpence a day should be allotted for the payment of each trooper;" to which he got the commissioners' consent; by virtue whereof, he raised great sums of money, without the least abatement of the former disorders: yet he proceeded with such popular circumstances, sending most specious warrants out, and declarations for reformation; sometimes desiring, "that solemn prayers might be said in all churches for him; and to desire God to bless some attempt he had then in hand;" always using extreme courtship to the commissioners, (whom he barefaced informed, "that he was to have, or rather, that he had the absolute command of the West under the Prince, without reference to his Council"), that with his promises, proclamations, and courtship, together with laughing at those persons they were angry at, he had wrought himself into very popular consideration; till they found, that he promised and published orders, to no other purpose than to deceive them; and that, whilst he seemed with them to laugh at other men, he made them properties only to his own ends.

In this conjuncture, the King's letter came to the Lord Goring, to march towards Northamptonshire; to which he returned an answer by an express, before he desired the Prince's directions; though he was diligent enough to procure his Highness's opinion for the respite of his march. The truth is, the assurance that he gave of his reducing those forces within very few days; the leaving all the West to the mercy of the rebels, if he went before they were reduced; the danger of their marching in his rear, and carrying as great an addition of strength to the enemy, as General Goring could carry to the King, except he carried with him the forces of the several garrisons, which were then joined to him, made it very counsellable to suspend a present obedience to those orders, till his Majesty might receive the full and true state of his affairs in those parts; to which purpose, an express was sent likewise by his Highness to the King. In the mean time, General Goring was so far from making any advance upon Taunton, that he grew much more negligent in it than he had been; suffered provisions, in great quantities, to be carried into the town, through the midst of his men; neglected and discouraged his own foot so much, that they ran away faster than they could be sent up to him; and gave himself wholly to licence: insomuch that sometimes he was not seen abroad in three or four days together. At this time came the news of the fatal blow at Naseby, which freed him from any fear of being drawn out of the West; yet he used no expedition to attempt any thing upon the enemy, who were exceedingly disheartened; but suffered the guards to be more negligently kept; insomuch that his quarters were often beaten up, even in the day time; whilst some principal officers of his army, as Lieutenant General Porter, and others, with

his leave, had several parleys with the officers of the rebels, to the very great scandal of the rest; who knew not what interpretation to make of it, at a time that he used to mention the person of the King with great contempt, and avowed in all places a virulent dislike of the Prince's Council. Thus, after about six weeks lying about Taunton, the forces whereof he promised to command (I mean those that marched to the relief of it, within few days, he was forced himself to retire, and suffer them to join with Sir Thomas Fairfax; who at the beginning of July marched towards those parts.

The Prince of Wales comes to Barnstable.

After the Prince came to Barnstable, though he very seldom received any account from the Lord Goring of what happened, he was informed by several persons of credit, "that he was much discontented; and expressed a great sense of disrespect, and unkindnesses that he had received." Therefore it was wished by them, "that some means might be found out, to settle a good understanding with him, whereby he might be encouraged to an alacrity in so important a season:" and he having appointed to be at Tiverton on such a day, the Prince sent thither Sir John Berkley, Sir Hugh Pollard, and Colonel Ashburnham, to confer with him, and to know what he desired; the Prince having never denied to assist him, in any one particular he had ever proposed, or to grant him any thing he had expressed a desire of. Upon their meeting there, he carried himself very high; talked only of "general neglects put upon him by the Prince's Council; that he had been promised by the King to have the command of the West, but that they had hindered it; which affront he required to have repaired, before he would do any service upon the enemy;" with many bitter invectives against particular persons; "whereof, he said, Prince Rupert had

"tol

When the Prince first apprehended the advance of Sir Thomas Fairfax to the West, he very carefully recommended to the Lord Goring the state of the garrisons about Bridgewater, especially the garrison at Lancaster, which was of so great importance, that some word implied, it had secured Bridgewater, as if that part of the country. This garrison had been since the Earl of Hopton, upon his first coming down from the north, Vandruske had raised the blockade of Lancaster, and Durham had laid to it; and Sir Peter Brouncker, who having been formerly Major-General of Newcastle, was now, though he was not actually commanding to his command in the last campaign (by the King's leave) was engaged by the Duke of York to take of it till, upon the Duke's return, he might be able to worthier commandment. The Lord Goring immediately notified it to a good number of his friends, and they established it.

Windham, who desired not to have another governor so near him, who was to receive some of the fruit that he had before looked on as his own, though never assigned to him: and then, upon some differences between Sir John Stawel and Sir Francis Mackworth, it was more inveighed against: inasmuch as at the first coming down of the Prince to Bristol, most of the time was spent in complaints from Sir John Stawel of this garrison, and of the forcing the country to work, and contribute to those fortifications. After the Lord Goring's coming to Taunton, he had, as a compliment to Bridgewater, and to all the gentlemen, who were grown angry with my Lord Hopton, upon their own fancies, besides the former unkindnesses he had to Sir Francis Mackworth upon some disputes they had had in the North, (where they were both General Officers), very much neglected and oppressed that garrison; not only by countenancing all complaints against it, but by taking away all the contribution assigned for the support of it, for the supplying his own army; and expressly inhibiting him by force to levy those rates, which the Prince himself had assigned to him. Inasmuch as when the club-men of the county assembled together in great numbers, and, having taken some officers and soldiers of that garrison prisoners, for requiring their just contributions in money or provisions, came up to the walls of Lamport, and discharged their musquets upon the works, and Sir Francis Mackworth thereupon with his horse charged them, and killing one or two of them, forced the rest to run away, the Lord Goring sent him a very strict reprehension for so doing, and positively commanded him "to do so no more; "nor in any case to disturb or injure those people." This brought that garrison so low, that when it might have preserved that army, it had not two days provisions
in

in it; Sir Francis Mackworth having been called to wait on the Prince's person, as well by his own choice, (when he saw the carriage towards him, believing that some prejudice to his person brought a disadvantage to the place), as by Prince Rupert's advice; who promised, when he left the Prince at Barnstable, and visited Goring, and Bridgewater, "to settle that garrison of Lampert, " and make Colonel Windham Governor of it.

Here I cannot but say somewhat of the club-men; who began then to rise in great numbers, in several parts of the country, about the time that the Prince went from Bath to Bridgewater, in his journey to Barnstable; and that night his Highness lay at Wells, which was the second of June, a petition was delivered to him, which had been agreed upon that day at Marshals Elme, where there had then assembled five or six thousand men, most in arms; and the petitioners were appointed to attend the next day at Bridgewater for an answer. It was evident, though the avowed ground for the rising, was the intolerable oppression, rapine, and violence, exercised by the Lord Goring's horse, that, in truth, they received encouragement from many gentlemen of the country; some of them thinking, it would be a good expedient to necessitate a reformation of the army; others believing it would be a profitable rising for the King, and would grow into the matter of the first association, one and all. Therefore some principal agents of Sir John Stawel's were very active in those meetings; and he himself was very solicitous, that a very gracious answer might be returned to their petition; which was followed by some formerly men, and others of the clergy, both which had good reputations of affection, and integrity to the King's service. The Prince expressed a great sense of the oppressions they suffered, by the disorder

Of the club-men in Somerset and Dorsetshire.

order of the army, which he promised to do his best reform; to which end, he writ many earnest letters to the Lord Goring. But his Highness told them, "that this unwarrantable course of assembling together, and being their own judges, would prove very pernicious; for though many of them might mean well, yet for active ministers would mingle with them, on the behalf of half of the rebels, and having once brought them to a kind of neutrality, and unconcernedness for the King, would, in a moment, be able, against all their good wishes, to apply them against him; and therefore straitly inhibited them to meet any more in that manner, except they first listed themselves in regiments, and chose gentlemen of the country to command them;" to whom his Highness offered to grant commissions to that purpose.

This answer seemed to satisfy those who attended on the behalf of the petitioners, until they were persuaded by some gentlemen not to submit to it; and so they continued their meetings; many inferior officers of the army quitting their charges, and living amongst them, and improving their discontents. When the Prince went to Barnstable, he gave General Goring advertisements "of the great danger that might arise out of the licence that people took to themselves;" and therefore advised him, "as on the one hand, to suppress and reform the crying disorders of the army by good discipline, and severity upon enormous transgressors; so on the other, seasonably to discountenance, and punish those assemblies of club-men; which would otherwise, in time, prove as dangerous to him, as any other strength of the rebels." But, whether it were to shew his greatness, and so, popularly to comply with what the Prince had discountenanced, or whether in truth

uth he believed he should be able to make use of them, and persuade them to become a part of his army, he did use all possible compliance with them, and would not suffer any force to be used against them. So that they grew to be so powerful, that they kept provisions from the army, and the garrisons; and when he moved from Taunton, upon the coming down of Sir Thomas Fairfax, they killed many of his soldiers; and did him more mischief, than all the power of the rebels.

When the Prince came to Barnstable, he received the fatal news of the battle of Naseby, by the noise and triumphs which the rebels made in those parts for their victory, without any particular information, or account from Oxford, or any credible persons; which left some hope that it might not be true, at least not to that degree that disaffected people reported it to be. However, at the worst, it concerned him the more to be solicitous to put the West into such a posture, that it might be able to repair any loss the King had received; which he might have done, if the jealousies and animosities between particular persons could have been reconciled, and a union been made amongst all men who pretended to wish, and really did wish, prosperity to the King's affairs; which were disturbed, and even rendered desperate, by the intolerable pride of incorrigible faction. Notwithstanding the orders, which had been made by the commissioners of Devonshire, for distributing the contributions of that county, which have been mentioned before, and in which such a proportion was assigned for the maintenance of the forces before Plymouth, as in Sir Richard Grenville's own judgment was sufficient for them; he had still continued to levy the whole contribution, which he had done formerly, for six thousand foot, and twelve hundred horse; and said, "he could not submit to the order."

“vision and retrenchment; for that there was nothing
 “assigned, or left for the payment of his men before
 “Taunton.” He was told by the commissioners, “that
 “they were now a part of the army, and lived as their
 “fellows did; that they had received no money from
 “him since their going thither, but had had free quarter
 “as the rest of the army; and that it would prove of
 “ill consequence, and beget a mutiny, if they should
 “receive a weekly pay, when none of the rest did, nor
 “any army the King had in England: that he could
 “not but confess, by the state of the whole, that the
 “dispensation was very reasonable; and that it could not
 “be expected that the county would be contented to
 “pay their contribution for the payment of other forces,
 “not of their own county, when their own garrisons,
 “that were kept for their defence, should be compelled,
 “for want of pay, to disorders, or to disband. But
 “that, if he thought any thing in those establishments
 “unnecessary, or that he thought provision could be
 “otherwise made for them, they would be contented that
 “the overplus should be disposed as he desired.” He
 answered none of their reasons; but positively said, “he
 “would spare none of the contributions formerly assign-
 “ed to him;” though the commissioners had the same
 authority now to take it away, as they had then to dis-
 pose it to him; and though it appeared to be assigned
 for the maintenance of so great a force, as was before
 spoken of, and upon his undertaking, under his hand,
 “to take the town before Christmas day.”

Transac-
 tions at
 Barnstable:
 especially
 complaints
 against Sir
 R. Greenvil.

When this account was presented to the Prince, he
 found it necessary, and resolved, to confirm what was
 proposed by the commissioners, without which those
 garrisons could not be supported; yet deferred the settling
 thereof, till he came to Barnstable, being resolved speedily

to

to go thither; and, before his coming thither, had sent to the commissioners both of Devon and Cornwall to attend him; which they did within a day or two after he came thither, together with Sir John Berkley, and Sir Richard Greenvil. The commissioners for Devon very earnestly pressed the settling the contributions in the manner before proposed, and the regulating the exorbitant power of Sir Richard Greenvil, who raised what money he pleased, and committed what persons he pleased; and the commissioners from Cornwall presented a very sharp complaint against him, in the name of the whole county, for several exorbitances, and strange acts of tyranny exercised upon them: "that he had committed very many honest substantial men, and all the constables of the east part of the county, to Lydford prison in Devonshire, for no offence, but to compel them to ransom themselves for money; and that his troops had committed such outrages in the country, that they had been compelled, in open sessions, to declare against him; and to authorize the country, in case that he should send his troops in such manner, to rise, and beat them out;" which declaration was produced, signed by all the commissioners, who were most eminently and zealously affected to his Majesty; and was indeed no other than a denouncing war against Greenvil; and was excused by them "as an act of necessity to compose the people, who would otherwise in the instant have risen, and cut the throats of all his men." So that, whoever would have made a judgment, upon what he heard from the commissioners of Devon and Cornwall at that time, must have concluded, that Sir Richard Greenvil was the most justly odious to both counties, that can be imagined. And no doubt he had behaved himself with great pride and tyranny over them; though

though the discipline he exercised over his men at Plymouth, in keeping them from committing any disorder, or offering the least prejudice to any man, (which, considering the great assignment of money he had, and the small numbers of men, was no hard matter to do), had raised him much credit among the country people, who had lived long under the licence of Prince Maurice's army; and the fame of it had extended his reputation to a greater distance.

There hath been too much said already, to discover the nature and the temper of this gentleman, if the current of this discourse did not make it absolutely necessary to mention many particulars, with which the Prince was troubled almost in all places, and which exceedingly disordered the whole business of Devon and Cornwall; and, indeed, thereby the whole West. There was one particular that made a great noise in the country: shortly after he was deputed to that charge before Plymouth, upon the hurt of Mr. Digby, one Brabant, an attorney at law, (who had heretofore solicited the great suit against Sir Richard in the Star-chamber, on the behalf of his wife and the Earl of Suffolk, living in those parts, and having always very honestly behaved himself towards the King's service), knowing, it seems, the nature of the gentleman, resolved not to venture himself within the precincts where he commanded; and therefore intended to go to some more secure quarter; but was taken in his journey, having a mountero on his head. Sir Richard Greenvil had laid wait to apprehend him; and he likewise had concealed his name; but, being now brought before Sir Richard, was immediately, by his own direction, without any council of war, because he said he was disguised, hanged as a spy: which seemed so strange and incredible, that one of the Council asked him, "whether
" it

“ it was true ?” And he answered very unconcernedly, “ yes, he had hanged him, for he was a traitor, and “ against the King ; and that he had taken a brother of “ his, whom he might have hanged too, but he had “ suffered him to be exchanged.” He said, “ he knew “ the country talked, that he hanged him for revenge, “ because he had solicited a cause against him ; but that “ was not the cause ; though having played the knave “ with him,” he said smiling, “ he was well content to “ find a just occasion to punish him.”

The Prince was very unwilling to enter so far and so particularly upon the passionate complaint of either county, as thereby to be compelled to censure or to discountenance Sir Richard Greenvil ; who, he thought, might be applied very usefully to the public service. Therefore his Highness resolved, according to the former design, to commit the business of Plymouth to Sir John Berkley ; who might, without any reproach to the other, discharge such from imprisonment as had lain long enough there, and who made no other pretence to the contribution, than according to the assignments made by the commissioners ; and to dispose Sir Richard Greenvil to the field, according to his own proposition ; for which there was now the more seasonable opportunity, the Lord Goring having then written to the Prince, “ to desire “ him, that, in regard very many of Sir Richard Green- “ vil’s soldiers before Taunton were run away, insomuch “ that of the two thousand two hundred brought thither by him, there were not six hundred left, and that “ there could be no such expedient to bring them back, or “ to encourage the new levies, as by his presence in that “ army, that he would send Sir Richard Greenvil thither ; where he should command as Field Marshal :” to which purpose he had likewise written to Sir Richard

Greenvil, perswading him, " that he should fix a quart
 " towards Lyme, and have the whole managing of the
 " province:" and so a very good correspondence was
 begun between them. Thereupon, his commission as
 Field Marshal of the associated army was delivered to
 him, with direction, " in the mean time to abide with
 " the Lord Goring;" who deputed him to command in
 the same place. It is true that he then desired, " to
 " continue the command before Plymouth in com-
 " mand, and to execute the same by his Major General,
 " but he was told, that it was otherwise settled by his
 " own proposition and advice, and therefore that it could
 " not be altered:" and indeed would have prevented his
 satisfaction, which was to be given to the two counties.
 Then he insisted very much upon some assignment of
 contribution for the army; for, he said, " he neither
 " would nor could command men who were not paid.
 But after some sharp invectives against the excess and
 laziness of governors, and the needless contribution as-
 signed to garrisons, finding that the subsistence for the
 army must be provided out of Somerset and Dorset, he
 took his leave of the Prince; and, with his commission
 of Field Marshal, went to the Lord Goring before Taun-
 ton; Sir John Berkley being at the same time dispatch-
 ed to Plymouth.

Sir T. Fair-
 fax with
 his army
 enters So-
 mersetshire.

About the beginning of July Sir Thomas Fairfax en-
 tered into Somersetshire; so that General Goring found
 it convenient to draw off from Taunton, and seemed to
 advance towards him, as if he intended to fight; fixing
 his quarters between the rivers about Lamport, very ad-
 vantageously for defence, having a body of horse and
 foot very little inferior to the enemy, although by great
 negligence he had suffered his foot to moulder away be-
 fore Taunton, for want of provisions, and countenance;
 when

when the horse enjoyed plenty, even to excess and riot. He had been there very few days; when the enemy, at noon day, fell into his quarters, upon a party of horse of above a thousand, commanded by Lieutenant General Porter; who were so surprised, that though they were in a bottom, and could not but discern the enemy coming down the hill, half a mile at the least, yet the enemy was upon them, before the men could get upon their horses; they being then feeding in a meadow; so that this body was entirely routed, and very many taken; and, the next day, notwithstanding all the advantages of passes, and places of advantage, another party of the enemy's horse and dragoons fell upon the whole army; routed it; took two pieces of cannon; and pursued Goring's men through Lamport, (a place, which if it had not been with great industry discountenanced and oppressed, as is said before, might well have secured his, and resisted their army), and drove them to the walls of Bridgewater; whither the Lord Goring in great disorder retired; and spending that night there, and leaving with them the cannon, ammunition, and carriages, and such foldiers as were desired, in equal disorder, the next day, he retired into Devonshire; the club-men and country people infesting his march, and knocking all stragglers, or wearied foldiers, on the head. Upon that rout, which was no less than a defeat of the whole army, the Lord Goring retired to Barnstable: from whence (the Prince being gone some days before to Launceston in Cornwall) he writ to the Lord Digby, "that there was so great a "terror and distraction among his men, that he was "confident, at that present, they could not be brought "to fight against half their number." In the letter he writ, "that he had then" (being within three days after their rout, when very many stragglers were not come up)

Beats Goring near Lamport.

“between three and four thousand foot,” (Prince Rupert’s regiment being left in Bridgewater, consisting of above five hundred men, and two hundred in Burrow, and five and twenty hundred horse, besides Sir Lewis Dives’s regiment, and all the western horse), so that, by his account, considering that there were not less than one thousand men killed, and taken prisoners, in those two unlucky days, and that very many were run to Bristol, and others not come to him, it appears, that, when he rose from Taunton, he had a strength little inferior to the enemy.

Sir Thomas Fairfax then no more pursued them, after this running away, but left them time enough to refresh and recover themselves; whilst he himself intended the recovery of Bridgewater; which was exceedingly wondered at; though it was quickly discerned, he had good reason to stop there. In the mean time General Goring spent his time at Barnstable, and those parts adjacent: his army quartering at Torrington, and over the whole north of Devon, and his horse committing such intolerable insolences and disorders, as alienated the hearts of those who were best affected to the King’s service. Instead of endeavouring to recruit his army, or to put himself in a readiness and posture to receive the enemy, he suffered all, who had a mind, to depart; inasmuch as he writ to the Lord Colepepper, on the 27th of July, “that he had not above thirteen hundred foot left.” When he was at Barnstable, he gave himself his usual licence of drinking; and then, inveighing against the Prince’s Council, said, “he would justify that they had been the cause of the loss of the West;” inveighing likewise in an unpardonable dialect against the person of the King, and discoursing much of the revenge he would take upon those who had affronted him: and in this manner

manner he entertained himself to the end of July, writing letters of discontent to the Prince, and the lords; one day complaining for want of money, and desiring the Prince to supply that want, when he well knew he wanted supply for his own table; and never received penny of the public collections or contributions: another day, desiring, "that all straggling soldiers might be sent out of Cornwall, and drawn from the garrisons, that he might advance upon the enemy;" and the next day proposing, "that all the foot might be put into garrisons, for that they could not be fit for the field;" so that before an answer could be sent to his last letter, another commonly arrived of a different temper.

Sir Richard Greenvil grew again no less troublesome and inconvenient than the Lord Goring. He had left the Prince at Barnstable, well pleased with his commission of Field Marshal, and more that he should command alone the blocking up of Lyme; which, he resolved, should bring him in plenty of money; and in order to that, it was agreed, that, on such a day appointed, "so many men from the garrisons of Dartmouth, Exeter, and Barnstable, should be drawn to Tiverton; where they should receive orders from Sir Richard Greenvil, and join with such as he should bring from the Lord Goring, for making a quarter towards Lyme;" and orders issued from his Highness accordingly. Those from Exeter, according to order, appeared at the time; and those from Barnstable and Dartmouth marched a day's journey and more towards Tiverton; but then, hearing that the Lord Goring was risen from Taunton, made a halt; and sent back to the Prince for orders; who conceived that, upon the rising of the Lord Goring, the design of fixing a quarter upon Lyme would be disappointed, and that it would be necessary to strengthen

Barnstable, where his own person was; and recalled those men back thither; having dispatched letters to Sir Richard Greenvil, to acquaint him with the accidents that had diverted those from Dartmouth and Barnstable; but letting him know, "that, if the design held, those of Barnstable should meet, where and when he would appoint."

Sir Richard Greenvil took an occasion, from the soldiers failing to meet, at the day appointed, at Tiverton, (though if they had met, there could have been no progress in the former design), to exclaim against the Prince's Council; and, the next day, in a cover directed to Mr. Fanshaw, who was Secretary of the Council, without any letter, returned the commission of Field Marshal, formerly given him by the Prince; and within two or three days after, on the fifth of July, he sent a very insolent letter to the Lords of the Council, complaining of "many undeserved abuses offered to him;" implying, "that the same were fastened on him by them, on the behalf of Sir John Berkley;" told them, "that when they moved him to give over the command of the forces before Plymouth to Sir John Berkley, they had promised him the principal command of the army under the Prince:" whereas the truth is before set down, that the proposition was made by himself, both of quitting that charge, and of Sir John Berkley's taking it, as the only fit person. He said, "he had hitherto served the King upon his own charge, and upon his own estate, without any allowance; and that, when he went from Barnstable, he was promised a protection for his house and estate; but when, after he was gone, his servant brought a protection ready drawn, all the clauses that comprehended any thing of favour were left out; and such a protection sent to him as he cared

"not

“not for.” He concluded, “that he would serve as a volunteer, till he might have opportunity to acquaint his Majesty with his sufferings.” Here it will be necessary, upon the mention of this protection, (which he took so ill to be denied), and the mention of serving the King, without allowance, upon his own estate, which he very often and very insolently objected both in his letters, and in his discourse to the Prince himself, to say somewhat of his estate, and what small allowance, as he pretended, he had from the King for his service.

When he came first into that country, he had no command at all; armed only with a commission to raise a regiment of horse, and a regiment of foot; of which he never raised horse or man, till long after, that he came to the command about Plymouth. Estate he had none, either there, or, that I have heard, any where else. It is true, his wife had an estate, of about five hundred pounds a year, about Tavistock and other parts of Devon; but it is as true, that it was conveyed before marriage, as hath been said, in such a manner, to friends in trust, that upon long suits in Chancery, and in other courts, in the time of peace, there were several judgments and decrees in Chancery against him. So that he had never, since the difference with his wife, which was many years before, received the least benefit or advantage from it. The first thing the King granted to him was the sequestration of all his wife's estate to his own use, (the living then in the rebels' quarters), upon which title he settled himself in her house near Tavistock; and, by virtue of that grant, took all the stock upon the ground; and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the arrears of rent, or as much as he said was in arrear; which amounted to a very considerable value. When Colonel Digby received his unfortunate hurt, which rendered

him for that time incapable to exercise his command; Sir John Berkley very earnestly, and he only, moved Prince Maurice, to confer that charge upon Sir Richard Greenvil; and, though it was within a county of which he himself had the principal charge as Colonel General, procured a full commission for the other to command those forces in chief; and delivered, or sent the same to him; having, from the time of his first coming down, used him with much kindness. He had not then commanded long, when the Earl of Essex came into those parts; whereupon he was compelled to rise; and afterwards joined with the King.

When the Earl of Essex's forces were dissolved, he was again designed for that service; and before the King left the country, he granted him the sequestration of all the estate of the Earl of Bedford in Devonshire, all the estate of Sir Francis Drake (by which he had Buckland Monachorum, which was his quarter whilst he blocked up Plymouth; and Worrington by Launceston) in Devon, and the Lord Roberts's estate in Cornwall; all which, and his wife's estate, he enjoyed by the sequestration granted from his Majesty, and of which he made a greater revenue than ever the owners did in time of peace. For, besides that he suffered no part of these estates to pay contribution, (whereby the tenants very willingly paid their full rents), he kept very much ground, about all the houses, in his own hands; which he stocked with such cattle as he took from delinquents; for though he suffered not his soldiers to plunder, yet he was, in truth, himself the greatest plunderer of this war; for whenever any person had disobeyed, or neglected any of his warrants, or when any man failed to appear at the *posse*, (which he summoned very frequently after he was Sheriff of Devon, and for no other end

end but the penalty of defaulters), he sent presently a party of horse to apprehend their persons, and to drive their grounds. If the persons were taken, they were very well content to remit their stock to redeem their persons. For the better disposing them thereto, he would now and then hang a constable, or some other poor fellow, for those faults of which a hundred were as guilty : and if, out of the terror of this kind of justice, men hid themselves from being apprehended, they durst not send to require their stock ; which was from thence quietly enjoyed : so that he had a greater stock of cattle, of all sorts, upon his grounds, than any person whatsoever in the west of England. Besides this, the ordering of delinquents' estates in those parts being before that time not well looked to, by virtue of these sequestrations, he seized upon all the stock upon the grounds, upon all the furniture in the several houses, and compelled the tenants to pay to him all the rents due from the beginning of the rebellion. By these, and such like means, he had not only a vast stock, but received great sums of money, and had as great store of good household-stuff, as would furnish well those houses he looked upon as his own. This was his own estate, upon which, he said, he had maintained himself, without any allowance from the King ; which, I am confident, besides what he got by his contributions, which would always pay double the men he had, and were strictly levied, and by his other arts, and extortions of several kinds, was more and more worth in money to him, than his Majesty bestowed upon all his general commanders of armies, and upon all his officers of state, since the beginning of the rebellion to that time. This computation would seem too enviously made, if I should proceed here to take any view of the services he ever did ;

did; and therefore (though they that are very good witnesses say, that notwithstanding all the bold promises of taking Plymouth within few days, "his farthest guards were never nearer the town, than the Lord Hopton's head quarter was the first day that he came thither") I shall leave that to other men to make the particular estimate.

Now when Sir Richard Greenvil desired at Barnstable a protection for his houses and estates, it was conceived, that he apprehended there might, under pretence of claim, some attempt be made upon his stock by the owners; or that he feared, that there might be too strict an enquiry, by him that succeeded, for such things as, being designed for the public service, had been applied to his particular private use; as having, with great importunity, (as a thing upon which the service depended), gotten from the commissioners of Devon above a thousand deal-boards, to make huts for the soldiers, he employed them all in the building a great riding-house at Buckland, for his own pleasure. However, so severe and terrible a person might easily be thought liable to many trespasses, when he should be removed from the place where he governed so absolutely. The protection was no sooner asked by him, than promised by the Prince; but, after his departure, his servant bringing such a protection drawn, as exempted all those estates, which the King had granted to him in sequestration, from the payment of any contributions, (the which had been already so scandalous, that most of the principal persons of Cornwall had by that example, and with indignation at it, forborn to pay their rates; and he was told the ill consequence of it; and, "that no person there in council, whereof some had had very much greater commands in armies than he, and though
" others

others thought their services deserved any reasonable privilege, had been ever freed from contribution"), ereupon those clauses were struck out, and the protection, in a fuller manner still than ordinary, signed by the prince; and Sir John Berkley, then present, declared, which his servant was advertised, though it was not, for the example, to put it in writing), "that he would not require any contribution for that estate which was his wife's, and enjoyed by him only by virtue of the sequestration;" and the denying of this protection was his great grievance. And yet he did not only never pay a penny contribution before, or after, for all these estates, but refused to pay the fee-farm rent, due to the King out of the Earl of Bedford's estate, being two hundred marks *per annum*, though the auditor was sent to him to demand it: but this was merely an act of his own sovereignty.

After this angry letter to the lords, and the throwing up his commission without a letter, and so having no commission at all to meddle in martial affairs, he fixed a quarter, with his own horse and foot, at St. Mary Ouse, within nine or ten miles of Exeter; where he governed as imperiously as ever; raised what money he would, and imprisoned what persons he pleased. In the year Sir John Berkley, having appointed the commissioners of those hundreds which were assigned for Devonshire to bring in their accounts of what money they had raised, Sir Richard Greenvil, (which, he proceeded to do, that thereby he might state the affairs, without any thought of reproach to the other, he caused the same to be read in all churches in the county. He caused it to be read in all, and in some of the churches, "persons should bring him an account of what goods had been plundered."

"ley, or any under him;" with several clauses very derogatory to his reputation. This, as it could not otherwise begot great resentments; insomuch as the commissioner of Devon sent an express to the Prince, who was then in Cornwall, beseeching him "to call Sir Richard Greenvil vil from thence, and to take some order for the suppressing the furious inclinations of both sides, or, if they apprehended, the enemy would quickly take advantage of those dissensions, and invade the country before they otherwise intended;" and, in their letter sent one of the warrants that Sir Richard had caused to be read in the churches; which indeed was the strangest I ever saw.

Hereupon, the Prince sent for Sir Richard Greenvil to attend him; who accordingly came to him at Liskeard, where his Highness told him "the sense he had of his disrespect towards him, in the sending back his commission in that manner; and of his carriage afterwards, and asked him, "what authority he now had either to command men, or to publish such warrants?" He answered, "that he was High Sheriff of Devon, and by the virtue of that office he might suppress any force, or enquire into any grievance his county suffered; and as far as in him lay, give them remedy." He was told, "as Sheriff he had no power to raise or head men, otherwise than by the *posse comitatus*; which he could not neither upon his own head raise, without warrant from the justices of peace: that, in times of war, he was to receive orders, upon occasions, from the commander in chief of the King's forces; who had authority to command him by his commission." He was asked, "what he himself would have done, if, when he was commanded before Plymouth, the High Sheriff of Cornwall should have caused such a warrant concerning

"ing

ing him to be read in churches?" He answered little the questions, but sullenly extolled his services, and enlarged his sufferings. Afterwards, being reprehended th more sharpness than ever before, and being told, that, whatever discourses he made of spending his estate, it was well understood, that he had no estate by any other title than the mere bounty of the King; that he had been courted by the Prince more than he had reason to expect; and that he had not made those returns on his part which became him; in short, if he had inclination to serve his Highness, he should do it in that manner he should be directed; if not, he should not, under the title of being Sheriff, satisfy his own pride and passion:" (upon which reprehension being become much gentler, than upon all the gracious addresses which had been made to him), he answered, "he would serve the Prince in such manner as he should command;" and thereupon he was discharged, and returned to his house to Worrington, one of those places he had by sequestration, (it belonged to Sir Francis Drake), where he lived privately, for the space of a fortnight, or thereabouts, without interposing in the public business. Let us now see how this tragedy was acted in other places.

We left the King at Hereford, not resolved what course to steer; Prince Rupert gone to Bristol, from whence he had made a short visit to the Prince at Barnstable, to give him an account of the ill posture he had left the King in, and from thence went to Goring to consult with him: and it was exceedingly wondered at, that when he saw in what condition he was, (for he was then before Taunton), and the number of his horse and foot, (which every body then thought had been his business to be informed of), he did not then hasten advice

to

- to the King, for his speedy repair thither; but his chief care was to secure Bristol; which, sure, at that time made not the least question of doing; and believed the winter would come seasonably for future counsels.

The King goes to Abergavenny to meet the commissioners of South Wales.

Thence to Ragland-castle.

The King quickly left Hereford, and went to meet the commissioners for South Wales at Abergavenny, the chief town in Monmouthshire. As they were for the most part persons of the best quality, and the large fortunes of those counties, so they had manifested great loyalty and affection, from the beginning of the war, sending many good regiments to the army, and with their sons, and brothers, and nearest kindred; many of whom had lost their lives bravely in the field: they now made as large and ample professions as ever, and seemed to believe, that they should be able, in a very short time, to raise a good army of foot, with which the King might again look upon the enemy; and accordingly agreed what numbers should be levied upon each of the counties. From thence his Majesty went to Ragland-castle, the noble house of the Marquis of Worcester, which was well fortified, and garrisoned by him; where he remained then in it. There he resolved to stay, till he should see the effect of the commissioners' mighty promises. But he found in a short time, that, either by the continued successes of the Parliament armies in all places, the particular information whereof was every day brought to them, by intelligence from their friends, or the triumphs of their enemies in Monmouth and Gloucester, or by the renewed troubles, which the presence of their Governor, General Gerrard, gave them, (who had been, and continued to be, a passionate and unskilful manager of the affections of the people; as having governed them with extraordinary rigour, and with as little courtesy and civility towards the gentry, as towards the common

common people), there was little probability of raising an army in those parts: where all men grew less affected, more frightened, which produced one and the same effect. The King stayed at Ragland, till the news came that Fairfax, after he had taken Leicester," (which could not hold out longer than to make honourable conditions), "was marched into the West, and had defeated Goring's troops at Lamport; and at the same time, that the Scottish army was upon its march towards Worcester, having taken a little garrison that lay between Hereford and Worcester by storm; and put all within it to the sword." And Prince Rupert sent for all those foot which were levied towards a new army, and part of those which belonged to General Gerrard, to supply the garrison of Bristol: so that his Majesty seemed now to have nothing in his choice, but to transport himself over the Severn to Bristol, and thence to have repaired to his army in the West; which would have been much better done before, yet had been well done then; and the King resolved to do so; and that the horse under Gerrard and Langdale should find a transportation over Severn, (which might have been done), and then find the way to him, wherever he should be.

This was so fully resolved, that his Majesty went to the water side near Chepstow; where vessels were ready to transport him, and where Prince Rupert from Bristol met him, very well pleased with the resolution he had taken, though he had not been privy to the counsel. Here again the unhappy discord in the Court raised new obstructions; they who did not love Prince Rupert, ~~and~~ were loved by him, could not endure to think that the King should be so wholly within his power: ~~and~~ himself was far from being importunate that he ~~should~~ ~~be~~ ~~so~~ ~~wholly~~ ~~within~~ ~~his~~ ~~power~~.

Thence to
Cardiff.

Sir T. Fair-
fax takes
Bridgewa-
ter.

should prosecute his purpose, which he had not ad-
though he liked it well enough; and so would not
answerable for any success. His Majesty himself be-
too irresolute, the counsel was again changed, and the
King marched to Cardiff; where he had been very late
time, when he was informed, that Bridgewater was taken;
and then they, who had dissuaded the King's embarka-
tion for Bristol, were much exalted, and thought them-
selves good counsellors; though, in truth, the former
resolution had been even then much better pursued; for
nothing could have hindered his Majesty from going to
Exeter, and joining all his forces; which would have
put him in a posture much better than he was ever
terwards. Indeed the taking Bridgewater, which the
King had been persuaded to believe a place impregnable,
could not but make great impressions upon him, to
think that he was betrayed, and consequently not to
know whom to trust. It was in truth matter of argu-
ment to all men, nor was it any excuse, that it was not
of strength enough against so strong an army; for it was
so strongly situated, and it might well have had all those
additions which were necessary, by fortifications, that it
was inexcusable in a Governor, (who had enjoyed the
charge above three years, with all allowances he had
himself desired, and had often assured the King, "that
"it was not to be taken"), that it did not resist any the
greatest strength that could come before it for one week;
and within less than that time, it was surrendered, and
put into Fairfax's hands.

That this prodigious success on the enemy's side
should break the spirits of most men, and even cast
them into despair, is not at all to be wondered at; but
that it should raise the hopes of any that it would pro-
duce a peace, is very strange; yet this imagination did
so

much harm, that men generally neglected to make that preparation against a powerful and insulting enemy, that was in their power to have made, out of confidence that the offer of a treaty would now prevail, and produce peace; and every man abounded so much in his own sense on this point, that they were not capable of any reason that contradicted it. The commissioners of all counties, which were the best gentlemen, and of best affections, upon whom the King depended to apply the common people to his service, were so fully of this opinion, that they made cabals with the principal officers of the army, to concur with them in this judgment, and to contrive some way how it might be brought to pass; and too many of them were weary of doing their duty, or so much ashamed of not having done it, that they professed themselves to desire it, at least as much as the rest. This temper spread itself so universally, that it reached to Prince Rupert himself; who writ his advice to that purpose to the Duke of Richmond, to be presented to the King; who took that occasion to write the ensuing letter to the Prince, with his own hand; which was so lively an expression of his own soul, that no pen else could have written it, and deserves to be transmitted to posterity, as a part of the portraiture of that excellent person, which hath been disguised by false or erroneous copies from the true original; and follows in these words.

From Cardiff in the beginning of the month of Aug. 1645.

“ Nephew,

“ This is occasioned by a letter of yours, that the Duke of Richmond shewed me yesternight. And
“ first, I assure you, I have been, and ever will be, very
“ careful to advertise you of my resolutions, as soon as

" they are taken ; and if I enjoined silence to that which
 " was no secret, it was not my fault ; for I thought
 " one, and I am sure it ought to have been so now. And
 " for the opinion of my business, and your counsel
 " thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence
 " of my religion, crown, and friends, you had better
 " reason for your advice. For I confess, that speaking
 " either as to mere soldier or statesman, I must fear
 " there is no probability but of my ruin ; but as a
 " Christian, I must tell you, that God will not suffer
 " rebels to prosper, or his cause to be overthrown : and
 " whatsoever personal punishment it shall please him to
 " inflict upon me, must not make me repine, much less
 " to give over this quarrel ; which, by the grace of God,
 " I am resolved against, whatsoever it cost me ; for I
 " know my obligations to be both in conscience and
 " honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my
 " successors, nor forsake my friends. Indeed I cannot
 " flatter myself with expectation of good success, more
 " than this, to end my days with honour, and a good
 " conscience ; which obliges me to continue my endeavour,
 " as not despairing that God may in due time
 " avenge his own cause. Though I must avow to all
 " my friends, that he that will stay with me at this
 " time, must expect, and resolve, either to die for a good
 " cause, or, which is worse, to live as miserable in the
 " maintaining it, as the violence of insulting rebels can
 " make him. Having thus truly and impartially stated
 " my case unto you, and plainly told you my positive
 " resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not
 " alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded,
 " I earnestly desire you not in any ways to hearken after
 " treaties ; assuring you, as low as I am, I will not go
 " less than what was offered in my name at Uxbridge ;
 " con-

confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be, within a month, in the same condition that I was immediately before the battle of Naseby. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselves with these conceits; and, believe me, the very imagination that you are desirous of a treaty, will lose me so much the sooner. Wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourse according to my resolutions and judgment. As for the Irish, I assure you they shall not cheat me; but it is possible they may cozen themselves: for be assured, what I have refused to the English, I will not grant to the Irish rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what nature soever) more than I see by their actions; and I am sending to Ormond such a dispatch, as I am sure will please you, and all honest men; a copy whereof, by the next opportunity, you shall have. Lastly, be confident I would not have put you, nor myself, to the trouble of this letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and a full confidence of your friendship to

“ Your &c.”

When the King came to Cardiff, he was entertained with the news, “ that the Scottish army was set down before Hereford, and that, if it were not relieved within a month, it must fall into their hands.” To provide for this, there could be no better way found out, than to direct the sheriffs of those Welsh counties to summon their *posse comitatus*, whereby the King was persuaded to hope, that there would be men enough to wait upon him in that expedition; who, with the horse he had, would have been equal to any attempt they could make upon the Scots. But it was quickly discovered,

that this expedient had raised an unruly spirit, that could not easily be suppressed again ; for the discontented gentlemen of those counties, now they had gotten the people legally together, put them in mind of “ the injuries they “ had received from General Gerrard, and the intolerable “ exactions they lay under, which would undoubtedly “ be increased, if he continued in that government. So that, instead of providing men to march with the King, they provided a long list of grievances ; from which they desired to be relieved before they would apply themselves towards the relief of Hereford. All this was so sturdily urged, that a body of no less than four thousand men, of those who were thus called together continued together many days, and would not be separated, till the King was even compelled to give the satisfaction in the particular they most insisted upon which was the removal of General Gerrard from having any command over them ; and that charge was presently conferred upon the Lord Aftley, the Major General of the army ; who was most acceptable to them ; and they afterwards conformed themselves as much to his directions, as from the distraction of the time, and the continual ill successes, could be expected by him.

But it was the hard fate of the King, that he could not provide what was fit for his own service, except he provided likewise for the satisfaction of other men's humours and appetites. Gerrard had now, upon the matter, the command of all the forces the King had to trust to in those parts ; and he was of too impetuous a nature, to submit to any thing for conscience, or discretion, or duty ; so that the King was compelled to satisfy his ambition for this present degradation, by making him a baron ; and, which was an odd and a very fantastical circumstance that attended it, for no other reason, than because

because there was once an eminent person, called Charles Brandon, who was afterwards made a Duke, he would be created Baron of Brandon, that there might be another Charles Brandon, who had no less aspiring thoughts than the former; when he had no pretence to the lands of Brandon; which belonged to, and were, at that time, in the possession of a gallant and worthy gentleman, Sir Thomas Glemham; who at the same time (very unluckily upon that account) came to the King at Cardiff, with about two hundred foot, which he had brought with him out of the garrison of Carlisle; which place he had defended for the space of eleven months against David Lesley, and till all the horses of the garrison were eaten, and then had rendered, upon as honourable conditions, as had been given upon any surrender; David Lesley himself conveyed him to Hereford; where he joined with the other part of that army, and from thence Sir Thomas Glemham (who was by his conditions to march to the King wherever he was) came to his Majesty at Cardiff, at the time when the title of his own land, which came to him by inheritance, was conferred upon a gentleman of another family: which how well extracted soever, was of less fortune, and as many thought, of no greater quality or merit. This unseasonable preferment more irritated the country, in which the King then expected assistance. That when they believed they had accused him of crimes which deserved the highest censure, they saw him rewarded in, an higher degree than he probably have arrived to; but for that reason the King, after all his endeavours, was entertained a new imagination, that he should send him to Scotland to the Marquis of Montrose, who was then in Scotland; and thereupon he

the mountains of Brecknock and Radnor, passed the Scottish quarters, and came to Ludlow, before that army had any notice of his march.

When the King came first to Ragland, he had sent an express to the Prince, by which he wished "that the Lord Colepepper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might, as soon as was possible, attend his Majesty." The danger of the way was such, and the passage so difficult, that the messenger came not quickly to his Highness. The Chancellor being then unfit to travel by reason of the gout, the Lord Colepepper made all possible haste out of Cornwall, where the Prince then was, and found his Majesty at Cardiff, when he was departing from thence; and waited on him to Brecknock: from whence he was again dispatched with this letter to the Prince; which, being the first direction the King gave of that nature, is necessary to be here inserted in many words.

Brecknock, 5th August, 1645;

"Charles,

The King's
letter to the
Prince of
Wales from
Brecknock.

"It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst, in order to which I spoke with Colepepper this morning concerning you; judging it fit to give it you under my hand, that you may give the readier obedience to it. Wherefore know that my pleasure is, whenever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the rebels' hands, that you convey yourself into France, and there to be under your mother's care; who is to have the absolute full power of your education in all things, except religion; and in that, not to meddle at all, but leave it entirely to the care of your tutor, the Bishop of Salisbury, or to whom he shall appoint to supply his place, in time of his necessitated absence.

"And

“ And for the performance of this, I command you to
 “ require the assistance and obedience of all your Coun-
 “ cil ; and, by their advice, the service of every one
 “ whom you and they shall think fit to be employed in
 “ this business ; which I expect should be performed, if
 “ need require, with all obedience, and without grum-
 “ bling : this being all at this time, from

“ Your loving father, *Charles R.*”

After the Lord Goring had lain some time in the ill humour we left him at Barnstable, he entered into correspondence with Sir Richard Greenvil ; who, he knew well, was as uninclined to the Council about the Prince as himself ; and finding that the enemy troubled him not, but had given him rest, whilst the army was employed upon other important service, they two met privately ; and, upon the encouragement and money he received from Greenvil, he writ to the Chancellor a very cheerful and a very long letter, bearing date the first of August, in which he inserted several propositions ; which, he said, had been framed “ upon conference with Sir
 “ Richard Greenvil ; which he desired might be pre-
 “ sented to the Prince ; and if they should be consented
 “ to, and confirmed by his Highness, he said, he would
 “ engage his life, that he would in a very short time have
 “ an army of ten or twelve thousand men, that should
 “ march wheresoever they should be commanded ; and
 “ should be in as good order, as any army in the world :”
 and concluded his letter with these words ; “ I see some
 “ light now of having a brave army very speedily on
 “ foot, and I am sending a copy of this inclosed letter
 “ to the King, with this profession, that I will be con-
 “ tent to lose my life, and my honour, if we do not
 “ perform our parts, if these demands be granted.”

The Lord
 Goring
 makes pro-
 positions to
 the Prince :

Which the
Prince
granted.

This letter being presented to his Highness, then at Launceston, found so gracious a reception, that the next day, being the second of August, the Prince returned him an answer of full consent; and the same day signed all the particulars proposed by him; expressing a further resolution "to add whatever else should be proposed to him, and within his power to grant;" so that there was once more a hope of looking the enemy in the face, and having a fair day for the West. The next day, or thereabouts, Sir Richard Greenvil himself attended the Prince, in a seeming good humour; all the propositions were immediately confirmed; some of which were, "that Sir Richard Greenvil should receive such a proportion of the contributions of Cornwall, and five thousand pounds of the arrears, for the payment of the officers of the army; and thereupon Sir Richard would gather up all the stragglers, who were returned into Cornwall from their colours; who, he said, would amount to three thousand foot, and he would raise three thousand foot more in Devonshire." So he betook himself again to action, sending out his warrants, and levying men and money; having lent two hundred pounds to the Lord Goring at their first meeting, and calling the *posse* of Devon to meet at several places, where himself was still present; by which, he pretended, he should speedily recruit the army. But before the end of August, that friendship grew colder; Sir Richard observing a better correspondence between the Lord Goring and Sir John Berkley than he hoped would have been, and hearing that the Lord Goring used to mention him very slightly, (which was true); he writ a very sharp letter to him, in which he said, "he would have no more to do with him." However he continued as active as before, being now in Devon, and then in Cornwall,

wall, where he commanded absolutely without any commission, and very seasonably suppressed an insurrection about St. Ives, which might else have grown to a head; and hanged two or three fellows, who, I believe, were guilty enough, by his own order, without any council of war; and raised what money he pleased upon others; then returned to his house at Worrington. All the vivacity that had so lately appeared in the Lord Goring, upon the news of the loss of Sherborne, declined; and then there was nothing, but complaint of want of money, and a proposition to put the army into garrisons; although the enemy gave them the same leisure, to pursue the former design, Fairfax being then engaged with his army before Bristol.

As soon as the Prince, who was then at Launceston, had read the letter, which the Lord Colepepper brought to him from the King, he returned it to the Lord Colepepper to keep, and to communicate it to the Lords Capel, Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for it was a misfortune, that there was not so good correspondence with the Earl of Berkshire (through some jealousies that were infused into him) as might have been wished; and from the Prince's first coming into Cornwall, some of his servants of the best quality, who had from the beginning been discontented, and upon strange pretences thought themselves undervalued that they were not of the Council, and, since the King's misfortune at Naseby, expressed their indispositions with more licence, and whispered abroad, "that there was a purpose of carrying the Prince into France," not that they believed it, but thereby thought to render the Council odious and suspected, had wrought so far upon the Earl of Berkshire, that he seemed to believe it too, whereby they got so much interest in him, that he always communicated
what-

whatsoever passed in Council to them; so that a letter of so great importance was not thought fit to be communicated to him, nor to the Earl of Brentford, who (though he was very kind and just to the other four) was not without his jealousies, and was an ill treasurer of secrets. They were very much troubled at the sight of the letter, not at the command of leaving the kingdom, for, though they had never communicated their thoughts to each other upon that subject before, they found themselves unanimous in the resolution, "that rather than he should be taken by the rebels, they would carry him into any part of the Christian world." For the better doing whereof, from that minute, they took care that there was always a ship ready in the harbour of Falmouth. But it troubled them, "that the King's command was so positive for France, against which they could make to themselves many objections." Besides that, one of the Prince's Bedchamber, who was newly returned from Paris, brought a letter from the Earl of Norwich, then the King's ambassador there, to one of the Council; in which taking notice of a report there of the Prince of Wales's coming thither, he passionately declared against it, "as a certain ruin to the Prince;" of which the messenger, by his direction, gave many instances of moment. And they were the more troubled, because the Lord Colepepper, who brought that letter from the King, averred, "that he had had no conference with the King upon the argument, but had wholly declined it, as a matter too great for him;" so that they had nothing before them but that letter. After two or three sad debates between themselves, they agreed upon "a letter to be prepared in cypher, presenting their reasons, and what they had been informed concerning France; and therefore offered it to his Majesty, whether

“ whether he would not leave the choice of the place to
 “ them, or nominate some other, against which so many
 “ exceptions might not be made; and proposed Ireland,
 “ (if the peace were made there), or Scotland, if the
 “ Marquis of Mountrose was as victorious as he was re-
 “ ported to be; withal assuring his Majesty, that, in case
 “ of danger, they would run any hazard, or into any
 “ country, before the Prince should fall into the hands
 “ of the rebels.” This letter, after it was communicated
 with the Prince, as the debates had been, was forthwith
 sent by an express.

Towards the end of August, the Lord Goring, after
 he had, in all his secret discourses, and in the hours of
 his jollity, spoken very bitterly of the Council about the
 Prince, as the authors of all the miscarriages, sent the
 Lord Wentworth to Launceston to his Highness, with
 certain demands, as he called them, on his behalf; but
 with direction, “ that before he presented them to the
 “ Prince, he should communicate them to the Lord
 “ Colepepper, or to the Chancellor, and be advised by
 “ them, in what manner to present them.”

His demands were, and so he styled them, 1. To
 have a commission to be Lieutenant General of all the
 West, and to command immediately under the Prince,
 garrisons as well as the army, and to be sworn of the
 Council as soon as might be. 2. That all commissions
 to officers of the army, when his Highness is present, be
 given by the Prince; but that his Highness should sign
 none but such as he should prepare for him. 3. That
 in the Prince's absence he should sign and grant all com-
 missions; and that, if any governments of towns should
 fall vacant, he might have the absolute recommendation
 of those that are to succeed, or, at least, a negative voice.
 4. That all designs of consequence should be debated,
 in

in the Prince's presence, by the Prince's Council, and such officers of the army as he should choose to sit at it. 5. That the number of the Prince's guard should be limited; and many other particulars, which seemed so unreasonable, and unfit to be publicly urged, that the Lord Colepepper persuaded the Lord Wentworth to suspend the presenting them; "the rather (as he said) "because the Chancellor was then absent (being sent by his Highness to Pendennis-castle, under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the customs, but, in truth, to take care that the frigate provided for the Prince's transportation might be in readiness, and victuals be privately made ready, to be presently put on board, when the occasion should require "and likewise because his Highness intended to be shortly at Exeter, where the Lord Goring, being present, might better consider, and debate his own business;" to the which the Lord Wentworth consented:

For the commissioners of Devon had besought his Highness to interpose his authority, in the regulating and disposing the army to march towards the relief of Bristol; declaring, "as the posture of it then was, that "both that county, and garrisons, must in a short time "be as much undone, and lost by them, as by the invasion of the enemy; that all the foot subsisted by, "and lived upon, the magazines of the garrisons; and "the horse possessed the other part of the country to themselves; and would neither suffer provisions to be brought to the markets, for the replenishing their stores, nor warrants to be executed for any payments; "pretending they were to defend their own quarters; "whilst themselves levied what monies they pleased, and "committed all sorts of insolences and outrages." By this means both before in Somersetshire, and afterwards in

in Devonshire, when the King's army was forced to retire, the enemy found great plenty of provisions in those quarters, where his forces had been in danger of starving: as, all about Taunton, there were very great quantities of corn, when the King's forces had caused all their bread to be brought out of the stores of Bridgewater and Exeter; which proceeded partly from the negligence and laziness of the officers and soldiers, who would not be at the trouble of threshing out the mows and ricks which were there; but principally by the protection given by the horse; who would not suffer any thing to be carried out of their quarters; and such as sent their provisions to market, were sure to have their money taken from them in their return. Inasmuch as it was affirmed by the commissioners of Exeter, "that before the enemy had any quarter within ten miles, there was not so much provision brought into that city in a fortnight, as they spent in a day:" which was only by reason of the disorder of our own horse, General Goring being all this time in Exeter, breaking jests, and laughing at all people, who brought complaints to him: as one day, when the fishermen complained to him, "as they came to the market, they were robbed by the troopers, who took all their fish from them" he said, "that they might by this see what great money was due to his men, by those who accused them of such robbery; for if they did swear, you know how they could catch no fish."

Upon these reasons, and the very great rage of the Lord Goring, and the commissioners of Exeter, on Friday the 29th of August, were the commissioners of Exeter in one day; leaving Sir John Goring, who then seemed to be in good humor to return to the soldiers in Cornwall, and as he was going he said to the

and west parts of Devon. The army having now lain there from the beginning of July to the end of August, without the least action, or alarm from the enemy, and being sufficiently refreshed, and, as their officers became awakened to a sense and a shame of their former amusements, it was unanimously agreed at a council of war, his Highness being present, "that the foot should presently advance to Tiverton; and the horse to the city of Exeter; and that, as soon as Sir Richard Grenville could come up with his men, they should all advance to the relief of Bristol;" which was understood to be in a very good condition; the last messenger that came thence assuring the Prince, as from Prince Rupert, that he was sufficiently provided with all necessaries for six months.

A design to petition the Prince to send conditions of peace, prevented.

There had been, from the time of the first going in the Prince into Cornwall, several rumours dispersed, which hath been said, by those who were discontented or angry with the Council, "that there was an intent to carry the Prince into France;" which begot infinite prejudice to all that was advised. Of this discourse General Goring had made great use, to the disadvantage of all those whom he desired to discredit, which was indeed one of the motives of his Highness's journey to Exeter, that he might discountenance that report: which had wrought so far amongst the gentlemen of the several western counties, who were retired thither for safety, that there was a resolution among them "to petition the Prince to interpose between the King and the Parliament; and to send a message to the latter with overtures of peace:" and, to that purpose, meetings had been amongst those gentlemen, to agree upon what articles the Prince should propose a peace; every man declaring his opinion, what condescension should be

Shortly after the Prince's coming to Exeter, the Lord
Bishop being not then well, but engaged in a course of
lectures, desired that he might have a few confidential
men one of the Council in private; in which, he pro-
posed he would discover his heart, and whatever had
passed with him. Whereupon, according to appoint-
ment, he desired he had desired were to him the same
day in his lodging; when he caused all persons to with-
draw, and bid his servants not to suffer any more to
enter them. When they were by themselves he con-
ferred with the Bishop of Winchester, he had ap-
peared from the Council, and told that petition in
particular. But confessed he had never answered him
because of wrong interpretation: that he was now very
sensible of the damage that had befallen the people
by those private conferences and intimacies: and he
said that if any thing had been done in confidence
before them that it might be corrected, and that

" they might all proceed vigorously in what concerned
 " the King's service; in which he could not receive
 " better encouragement, than by an assurance of the
 " person's friendship. From this, he discoursed at large
 " his apprehensions of his brother Porter, of his craft
 " and artifice, and of his treachery, with very great freedom
 " in many particular instances;" and concluded, " that
 " he resolved to quit himself of him;" and after twelve
 " hours spent in those discourses, and in somewhat less
 " concerned his father, in which he said, " he was to receive
 " this person's advice by his father's direction," being
 " about the government of Pendennis), as if he had
 " said all he meant to say, he asked the other negligently
 " what he thought of the demands he had sent by
 " Lord Wentworth?" protesting, " he had no private
 " thoughts, but only an eye to the public service; as
 " towards the doing whereof, as the exigents of affairs
 " then stood, he did not think himself sufficiently qualified."
 " The other told him, " that whatever he
 " thought of them would not signify much, being but
 " a single voice in Council; by the concurrent advice
 " whereof, he presumed, the Prince would govern himself.
 " However, if he would have him tell him his
 " opinion as a friend, he would shew himself so ill a
 " courtier, as to tell it him frankly; which, except he
 " reformed him in his judgment, he should declare
 " where it should be proposed, and, he believed, it
 " would be the opinion of most of the lords, if it were
 " not his." Thereupon he told him very freely and
 " plainly, " that he thought his demands not fit for the
 " Prince to grant, nor seasonable for him to ask; his
 " authority being the same, as to the public, all his orders
 " being obeyed, and the Prince giving him the
 " same assistance, as if he were his Lieutenant General:
 " that

" that the Prince had not hitherto interposed his autho-
 " rity in the governing that army; and therefore, that
 " he conceived it unseasonable, at that time, for his
 " Highness to interest himself in the command thereof;
 " which he should do by making him Lieutenant Ge-
 " neral: that the King having directed the Prince to
 " make the Lord Hopton his Lieutenant General, it
 " would not become them to advise the Prince to alter
 " that designation, without receiving his Majesty's
 " command:" therefore he advised him, " since the
 " alteration was no way necessary, and would inevitably
 " beget much trouble, that he would defer the pressing
 " it, till the King's affairs should be in a better posture."
 Satisfied he was not, yet he forbore to importune the
 Prince to that purpose at this time.

About the middle of September, the Prince being still at Exeter, the news came of the fatal loss of Bristol; which, as all ill accidents at that time did, cast all men on their faces, and damped all the former vigour and activity for a march. However, the former resolution continued of drawing to Tiverton, and at least of defending those passes, and keeping the enemy from invading Devon: for the better doing whereof, and enabling them to fight, if Fairfax should advance, the Prince returned to Launceston; whither he summoned all the Trained Bands of Cornwall, and an appearance of the whole country; which appeared very cheerfully, and seemed well inclined to march to Tiverton. In the mean time the same negligence and disorder continued in the army, and the Lord Goring, with the same licence and unconcernedness, remained at Exeter, to the great scandal of the country, and disheartening of the army. About the latter end of September, his highness writ a letter to the Lord Colchester, in which he

Prince Ru-
 pert de-
 livers up
 Bristol.

remembered him of the propositions formerly sent to the Lord Wentworth to Launceston; and recounted large, but very unjustly, the discourse which had passed between the other counsellor and him, at Exeter, upon that subject; in which he charged the other with answers very far from those he had received from him, and desired his lordship, "that, by his means, he might know positively what he was to trust to;" concluding "that, without such a commission as he desired, he could not be answerable for the mutinies and disorders of the army." Whereupon his Highness, upon full consideration of the mischiefs that would attend his service if he should consent to the matter of those demands, to comply with the manner of the demanding, sent him word, "that he would not for the present grant any such commission;" and wished him "to pursue the former counsels and resolutions, in advancing towards the enemy; all things being in a good forwardness in Cornwall to second him." And so there was no further pressing that overture; however, he presumed to style himself, in all his warrants, and treaties with the commissioners, and in some orders which he printed "General of the West."

The sudden and unexpected loss of Bristol was a new earthquake in all the little quarters the King had left, and no less broke all the measures which had been taken, and the designs which had been contrived, than the loss of the battle of Naseby had done. The King had made haste from Ludlow, that the Scottish army might no more be able to interrupt him; and with very little rest passed through Shropshire and Derbyshire, till he came to Wellbeck, a house of the Marquis of Newcastle in Nottinghamshire, then a garrison for his Majesty; where he refreshed himself, and his troops, two days; and, as
for

as any resolution was fixed in those days, the purpose was, "to march directly into Scotland, to join with the Marquis of Mountrose;" who had, upon the matter, reduced that whole kingdom. During his Majesty's short stay at Wellbeck, the Governor of Newark, with the commissioners for Nottingham and Lincoln, repaired to him, as likewise all those gentlemen of Yorkshire who had been in Pontefract-castle, (which, after a long and worthy defence, was lately, for mere want of all kind of provisions, surrendered upon good conditions; whereby, "all the soldiers had liberty to repair to their own houses, and might live quietly there,") whereupon the gentlemen assured the King, "they were as ready as ever to serve him, when they should be required." Whether the wonted irresolution of those about the King, or the imagination, upon this report of the gentlemen, that a body of foot might be speedily gathered together in those parts, (which was enough encouraged by the cheerfulness of all the gentlemen of the several counties), prevailed, or not, so it was, that the King was persuaded, "that it was not best to continue his march, with that speed he intended, towards Mountrose; but that it would be better to send an express to him, to agree upon a fit place for their meeting; and in the mean time, his Majesty might be able to refresh his wearied troops, and to raise a body of foot in those parts." To which purpose, Doncaster was proposed as a fit place to begin in: and to Doncaster, thereupon, the King went; and the gentlemen so well performed their undertaking, that, within three days, there was an appearance of full three thousand foot; who undertook, within four or twenty hours, to appear well armed, and ready to march with his Majesty, what way soever he would go.

Here again the King's forward fortune

of this opportunity to put himself into a posture of war. That very night, they received intelligence, "that David Lesley was come to Rotheram with all the Scottish horse;" which was within ten miles of Doncaster. The news whereof so confounded them, (as be-
 and baffled troops do not naturally, in a short time, recover courage enough to endure the sight of an enemy, that they concluded "he came in pursuit of the King" and therefore that it was now too late to proceed upon their northern expedition, and that the King must "speedily remove to a greater distance for his own security." Whereupon, he made haste (without expecting that recruit of foot) from Doncaster, back again to Newark; resolving then to go directly to Oxford; whereas, in truth, David Lesley knew nothing of the King's being in those parts; but, upon sudden orders from Scotland, was required to march, with all possible expedition, with the horse, to relieve his own country from being totally over-run and subdued by the Marquis of Mountrose; who had then actually taken Edinburgh. The orders had no sooner come to the Scottish army before Hereford, but he begun his march, without the least apprehension of any enemy in his way, till he should come into Scotland; and so, as he had made a very long march that day, he came tired and wearied with his troops that night into Rotheram. And he confessed afterwards, "if the King had then fallen upon him, as he might easily have done, he had found him in a very ill posture to have made resistance, and had absolutely preserved Mountrose." But by his sudden retreat, David Lesley was at liberty to pursue his march for Scotland, and came upon Mountrose, before he expected such an enemy; and so prevented his future triumph, that he was compelled with great loss to retire again.

Thence to
Newark.

Mountrose
defeated by
David
Lesley.

again into the Highlands; and Lesley returned time enough to relieve and support the Scottish army, after they were compelled to rise from Hereford.

The King now, with great expedition, prosecuted his ^{The King goes to Oxford.} journey to Oxford, though not without making some starts out of the way; by which he had opportunity to beat up some quarters of new levied horse for the service of the Parliament; and, before the end of August, he arrived at Oxford; where he did not stay more than two days, but departed from thence again to Worcester, with a resolution to attempt the relief of Hereford; which had defended itself bravely, and very much weakened the Scottish army by frequent sallies. They had only a body of eight hundred tired horse remaining, which David Lesley left behind him when he marched with the rest into Scotland; and therefore the raising that siege was thought the less difficult; and with this resolution his Majesty left Oxford the third day after he came thither. Upon his arrival at Ragland, he was cer- ^{Thence to Ragland.} tainly informed, "that Fairfax had besieged Bristol;" for which nobody underwent any trouble; for all men looked upon that place as well fortified, manned, and victualled; and the King even then received a very cheerful letter from Prince Rupert; in which, "he undertook to defend it full four months." So that the siege being begun so late in the year as the beginning of September, there was reasonable hope that the army might be ruined, before the town taken. Therefore the King prosecuted his former resolution, at least to endeavour the relief of Hereford. And as he was upon his march thither, he received intelligence, "that the Scottish army, upon the notice of his purpose, was ^{The Scots file from the west side of Hereford, and march towards the south} that morning risen in great disorder and confusion, and resolved to make their retreat on the Welsh side."

“ of the river, and so to pass through Gloucester. This news was so welcome, and his Majesty was received with so full joy into the city of Hereford, that he took the opportunity he then had of discommoding at least if not ruining the Scottish army; which now passed through a strange country, where they had never been, and where the whole nation was extremely odious to the people. Nor would the Governor of Gloucester suffer them to pass through his garrison, till they sent him word plainly, “ that if they might not pass through the town, they knew they should be very welcome to pass through Worcester;” by which argument he was convinced; so that he permitted them to go through the town, from whence they prosecuted their march into the North. If, in all this time, they had been pursued by the King’s horse, considering the small body they had of their own, there is little doubt to be made very much if not the greater part of that army, had been destroyed.

But the King’s heart was now so wholly set upon the relief of Bristol, that nothing else was thought upon which might in any degree delay it. And so the King from Hereford, advertised Prince Rupert, “ that he had raised the siege of Hereford, and that the Scots were marched northward; that he intended speedily to relieve him; and in order to it, that he had then commanded General Goring, to draw what force he could out of the West; and to march to the Somersetshire side of Bristol; and that his Majesty would himself have a body of three thousand foot, drawn out of the several garrisons of those parts, which should pass over the Severn, about Berkley-castle on Gloucestershire side; and that his horse, which were then above three thousand, should at the same time ford the Severn not
“ far

far from Gloucester," (as they might have done), and so join with his foot; and by this means, all things being well concerted, they might hopefully fall on Fairfax's quarters on both sides." And the better to bring all this to pass, the King himself went the second time to Ragland, the house of the Marquis of Worcester; sending the horse to those several places, as might best facilitate the execution of the design that was formed for the relief of Bristol.

But when the King came to Ragland, he received the terrible information of the surrender of Bristol, which he so little apprehended, that if the evidence thereof had not been unquestionable, it could not have been believed. With what indignation, and dejection of mind, the King received this advertisement, needs no other description and enlargement, than the setting down, in the very words of it, the letter which the King sent thereupon to Prince Rupert; which, considering the unpardonable indulgence his Majesty had ever showed towards that Prince, is sufficient evidence, how highly he was offended and incensed by that act; which yet he was some time sadly to think of, and consider, before he would allow himself to abate so much of his natural jealousy towards him. As soon as he received that surprising intelligence, he presently removed from Ragland, and returned to Hereford, the post he chose, ~~wherein he considered the im-~~ perateness of the condition he was in, and to ~~consult~~ new consultations. To that purpose, he sent orders "for all the officers, and their ~~regiments~~ which had been sent into Shropshire, Warwickshire, and ~~some~~ Wales, to provide for the relief of Bristol, to ~~meet~~ him there." And as soon as he came to ~~Hereford~~ he dispatched an express with the ~~news~~ to ~~Prince~~ Rupert.

Hereford, 14th Sept. 1645.

The King's
letter to
Prince Ru-
pert upon
his sur-
render of
Bristol.

"Nephew,

"Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me
"yet your surrendering it as you did, is of so much
"affliction to me, that it makes me not only forget the
"consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest
"trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me; for
"what is to be done, after one that is so near me as
"you are, both in blood and friendship, submits himself
"to so mean an action? (I give it the easiest turn
"such—I have so much to say, that I will say no more
"of it: only, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my
"charge, I must remember you of your letter of the
"12th of August, whereby you assured me, that, if no
"mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four
"months. Did you keep it four days? Was there any
"thing like a mutiny? More questions might be asked,
"but now, I confess, to little purpose: my conclusion
"is, to desire you to seek your subsistence, until it shall
"please God to determine of my condition, somewhere
"beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a
"pass; and I pray God to make you sensible of your
"present condition, and give you means to redeem what
"you have lost; for I shall have no greater joy in a
"victory, than a just occasion without blushing to assure
"you of my being

"Your loving uncle, and most faithful friend, C. R."

With this letter, the King sent a revocation of all
commissions formerly granted to Prince Rupert, and
signified his pleasure to the Lords of the Council at Ox-
ford, whither Prince Rupert was retired with his troops
from Bristol, "that they should require Prince Rupert
"to deliver into their hands his commission." And
whether

whether the King had really some apprehension that he might make some difficulty in giving it up, and make some disorder in Oxford, or whether it was the effect of other men's counsels, his Majesty, at the same time, sent a warrant likewise for the present imprisonment of Colonel Leg, (who was Governor of Oxford), as a person much in the Prince's favour, and therefore like to be subservient to any of his commands. But this circumstance of rigour made the other judgment upon the Prince thought to be over sudden, "that he should be made the first example of the King's severity, when so many high enormities and miscarriages of others had passed without being called in question." And as nobody suspected the Prince's want of duty in submitting to the King's pleasure, so Colonel Leg was generally believed to be a man of that entire loyalty to the King, that he was above all temptations: this circumstance of committing the Governor, made the other to be likewise suspected to be more the effect of the power of some potent adversaries, than of the King's own severity.

When the Prince of Wales came to Launceston from Exeter, (which was about the middle of September), after the loss of Bristol, and the motion of the enemy inclined westward, it was then thought fit to draw all the Trained Bands of Cornwall to Launceston, and as many of them as could be persuaded, to march eastward; it being agreed at Exeter, "that, if the enemy gave time, the force of both counties (save what was necessary to be continued at Plymouth) should be drawn to Trew-ton, and, upon that pass, to fight with the rebels;" for the better compassing whereof, it was ordered, "that Sir Richard Greenvil should command all the Cornish Trained Bands, whereunto should be added his own three regiments, which he had formerly raised to

" Taun-

“Taunton;” who took themselves to be so disobliged, both officers and soldiers, (as in truth they were), by the Lord Goring, that they were absolutely disbanded, and could by no other means be gotten together, but upon assurance that they should be commanded by Sir Richard Greenvil. Things being thus settled, Greenvil seemed well satisfied, having all the respect and encouragement from the Prince that was desired, or could be given; and without any other indisposition, than that, once in two or three days, he would write a letter either to the Prince himself, the lords, or Mr. Fanshaw, extolling himself, and reproaching the Lord Goring’s plundering horse, and sometimes Sir John Berkley; in all which he used a very extraordinary licence.

During the Prince’s being at Exeter, Sir John Berkley had desired, “that, in respect his continual presence “would be necessary at Exeter, since the enemy apparently looked that way, his Highness would dispose “the command of the forces before Plymouth to such “a person as he thought fit; who might diligently attend that service.” There was a general inclination to have sent back Sir Richard Greenvil to that charge, which it was visible he looked for; but there were three great points to be considered; the first, the pretence that General Digby had to that command; to whom it originally belonged; and both he, and the Earl of Bristol, expected it upon this alteration; he being at that time so well recovered in his health, that he was well able to execute the command: the next, that if it should be offered to Greenvil, he would insist upon such assignments of contributions, as would make the subsistence of the army and of the garrisons impossible: the last and the greatest was, that the whole design being now to draw such a body together, as might give the
the

the rebels battle, this could not be without the Cornish Trained Bands, and those other soldiers, who had run from their colours; neither of which would march without Sir Richard Grenvil; and it was apparent, if he went to Plymouth, those old soldiers would go to him. Besides, his experience and activity was then thought most necessary to the marching army; where there was a great dearth of good officers. Hereupon, it was resolved that General Digby should again resume the charge about Plymouth, but upon any extraordinary occasion, and advance of the enemy, he was to receive orders from Sir Richard Grenvil; and accordingly, upon Sir Richard Grenvil's advancing into Devon, and fixing a quarter at Okington, Digby was ordered so to do; which he observed accordingly.

In the beginning of October, the Lord Goring persuaded the commissioners of Devon, upon his promise to punish and suppress all disorders in the soldiery, and that the markets should be free, "to double the contribution of the county for six weeks, and to assign half thereof to his army;" by virtue whereof he raised vast sums of money; but abated nothing of the former disorders and pressures: and the money so raised, instead of being regularly distributed amongst the soldiers, was disposed to such persons as he thought fit by his warrants to direct. But no sooner was Sir Thomas Fairfax advanced as far as Cullampton, than the Lord Goring gave over the thought of defending Devon, and, by his letter of the eleventh of October to the Lord Colepepper, said, "that he had sent all the horse, but one thousand, westward, under the command of the Major General, to join with the Cornish; who were to advance; and that himself, with one thousand horse, and all his foot, resolved to stay in Exeter to defend that town, if the
" enemy

“ enemy came before it ; or to be ready to attend their
“ rear, if they marched forward ;” and therefore desired,
“ that his Highness would appoint whom he thought
“ fit, to give orders to the Lord Wentworth, his Major
“ General, who was prepared not to dispute orders sent
“ by any substituted by the Prince.” Hereupon, the
Prince had appointed Sir Richard Greenvil “ to advance
“ with the Cornish to Okington,” and directed the Major
General “ to receive orders from him :” but, by that
time they two had disposed themselves in order, as they
did very handsomely and cheerfully, General Goring
changed his mind, and, within four days after his former
letter, he retired with his thousand horse out of Exeter
to Newton Bushell ; and then sent to the Prince, by a
letter to the Lord Colepepper, to know “ whether Sir
“ Richard Greenvil should receive orders from him ;
“ and offered to undertake any design with Sir Richard
“ Greenvil, or by himself, as the Prince should direct ;
“ or that if his presence and command should be
“ thought, on the account of any indisposition in the
“ Cornish towards him, probable to produce any incon-
“ venience to the service, he would willingly, for that
“ expedition, resign his command to any person the
“ Prince would design for it :” intimating withal, “ that
“ if the Lord Hopton had it, the Lord Wentworth
“ would willingly receive orders from him.” His High-
ness, the next day, writ to him, “ that he committed
“ the management of the whole to his lordship ; and
“ had commanded Sir Richard Greenvil to receive or-
“ ders from him, who had then a good body of Cornish
“ with him, and power to draw off the men from Ply-
“ mouth, if there should be occasion.”

The King's having been in that perpetual motion, as
hath been mentioned before, kept the express that had
been

been sent to him from the counsellors, upon the first signification of his pleasure concerning the Prince's transportation into France, from delivering that letter for some time. So that it was the middle of October before they received his Majesty's further direction. Then this letter to the Lord Colepepper was brought back by the same express.

" Colepepper,

" I have seen and considered your dispatches; and
 " for this time you must be content with results without
 " the reasons, leaving you to find them: Lord Goring
 " must break through to Oxford with his horse, and
 " from thence, if he can, find me out, wheresoever he
 " shall understand I shall be; the region about Newark
 " being, as I conceive, the most likely place. But that
 " which is of more necessity, indeed absolute, is,
 " that, with the best conveniency, the most secrecy,
 " and greatest expedition, Prince Charles be trans-
 " ported into France; where his mother is to have the
 " sole care of him, in all things but one, which is his
 " religion; and that must still be under the care of the
 " Bishop of Salisbury; and this I undertake his mother
 " shall submit unto: concerning which, by my next
 " dispatch, I will advertise her; this is all; so I rest

" Your most assured friend, *Charles R.*"

Though this letter was writ after the loss of Bristol, yet when it arrived, the hopes of the West were not thought desperate; and it was absolutely concluded between the lords, " that, as the person of the Prince was
 " never to be in hazard of being surpris'd, so he was
 " not to be transported out of the King's dominions,
 " but upon apparent, visible necessity, in point of safety:"
 and

and the very suspicion of his going had been, both by the Lord Goring and others, enviously whispered, to the great disheartening of the people; so that (besides that an unreasonable attempt of going might have been disappointed) they saw that the loss of the whole West, both garrisons and army, would immediately have attended that action; and therefore they thought, they should be absolved, in point of duty, by the King, if they only preserved themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his command at that time; especially since General Goring thought it not reasonable to observe the orders, which were sent to him at the same time, for marching towards the King, nor so much as advised with his Highness, or communicated that he had received any such orders; and yet his Highness let him know, "that he was well content, that he should break through with his horse to the King;" which he might have done.

The enemy, having gained Tiverton, made no great haste to the west of Exeter, but spent their time in fortifying some houses near the town, on the east side, without receiving the least disturbance from the army; the Lord Goring entertaining himself in his usual jollity between Exeter, Totness, and Dartmouth; it being publicly spoken in Exeter, "that the Lord Goring intended to leave the army, and speedily to go beyond seas, and that Lieutenant General Porter resolved to go to the Parliament;" long before the Prince understood General Goring's resolution to go into France, by any intimation from himself. The twentieth of November, his lordship writ a letter from Exeter to the Prince by the Lord Wentworth, "that, now that the enemy and his lordship were settled in their winter quarters," (whereas the enemy was then as stirring as ever), "he did beg
" leave

"leave of his Highness to spend some time, for the recovery of his health, in France;" intimating, "that he hoped to do his Highness some notable service by that journey;" and desired, "that his army might remain entirely under the command of the Lord Wentworth" (whereas, not above a fortnight before, he had writ, "that the Lord Wentworth was very willing to receive orders from the Lord Hopton") "until his return; which, he said, should be in two months;" and so having dispatched the Lord Wentworth with this letter to the Prince to Truro, his lordship, never attending his Highness's leave or approbation, went the same, or the next day, to Dartmouth; where he stayed no longer than till he could procure a passage into France; whither, with the first wind, he was transported; Lieutenant General Porter, at the same time, declining the exercise of his command, and having received several messages, letters, and a pass from the enemy for his going to London. After the knowledge whereof, General Goring signed a warrant for the levying two hundred pounds upon the country for the bearing his charges. The Lord Wentworth, at the time of his being then at Truro, told some of his confidants, "that the Lord Goring intended to return no more to the army, or into England; but relied upon him to preserve the horse from being engaged, till he could procure a licence from the Parliament to transport them, for the service of a foreign prince, which would be a fortune to the officers." And the Major General said afterwards at Lameston, "that he could not understand the Lord Goring's designs; for that, at his going from the army, he gave the officers great charge to preserve their regiments, for he had hope to get leave to transport them;" and within few days after he arrived at Paris,

The Lord
Goring re-
tired into
France.

Paris, he sent Captain Porridge into England, to fetch all his saddle horses, and horses of service, upon pretence that he was to present them in France; though at the same time he assured his friends, "that he was re-
" turning speedily with men and money;" which was not the more believed by his sending for his horses.

Though there had been no great modesty used in the discourses of the people towards General Goring, from the time of his first fastening in the West, especially of the Cornish, whom he had most unskilfully irreconciled to him, by his continual neglects and contempts of them, (as he would usually before Taunton, when he viewed his foot, clap an Irishman, or one of those soldiers who came out of Ireland, who doubtless were good men, on the shoulders, and tell him, in the hearing of the rest, "that he was worth ten Cornish cowards," the greatest part of his present strength, and all his future hopes depending upon the Cornish, many whereof had reason to believe themselves not inferior to any who had served the King), yet from the time that he left the army, and went for France, they gave themselves a greater licence; and declared, "that he had, from the
" beginning, combined with the rebels; and having
" wasted and ruined all the supplies which had been sent
" him, had now left a dissolute and odious army to the
" mercy of the enemy, and to a county more justly in-
" censed, and consequently more merciless than they.
" They compared the loss of Weymouth, in the view of
" his army, after he had been in the town, and when the
" whole direction was in him, with the counter-scurfuffle
" at Petherton-bridge, when two of his own parties,
" pursuing the orders they had received, fought with
" each other, whilst the enemy retired to their own
" strengths: they remembered the voluntary, wanton,
" incensing

" incensing the country ; the discountenancing the gar-
 " rison of Lampport, and dissolving it ; the eating the
 " provisions of the rest ; the cherishing the club-men ;
 " and the lying with his whole army before Taunton
 " full six weeks, (after he had declared the enemy to be
 " in his mercy, within six days), and in that time (pre-
 " tending that he would in a few days starve them) he
 " suffered great quantities of provisions to be carried
 " into them, through his own quarters, and several in-
 " terviews and private meetings to be by his brother
 " Porter (whose integrity he had before suspected) and
 " the chief officers of the rebels : the neglecting his
 " body of foot, during the time that he lay before
 " Taunton, by which he suffered above two thousand to
 " run away. They talked of the beating up his head
 " quarter the day before the rout at Lampport at noon-
 " day, for which no man was ever called to a council of
 " war ; and that total rout at Lampport, as two of the
 " most supine and unsoldierly defeats, that were ever
 " known ; before which, or in those straits, or upon
 " any other occasions of advice, that he never called a
 " council of war to consider what was to be done ;
 " and in that last business of Lampport, himself was so
 " far from being present, that coming in great disorder
 " to Bridgewater, he said, he had lost his foot and
 " cannon ; which indeed were brought off entirely by
 " the care and diligence of the Lord Wentworth and
 " Sir Joseph Wagstaff. They talked of his unheard of
 " neglecting the army, after that retreat at Bridgewater,
 " inasmuch as of between three and four thousand foot,
 " which himself confessed he had after that business,
 " (and, if his loss had been no greater than he owned,
 " must have been a far greater number), within sixteen
 " days, he had not thirteen hundred, nor ever after
 " recovered

“ recovered a man, but what was gotten up by the activity and authority of the Prince. Lastly, they remembered his lying in Devonshire from the beginning of July, which was about the time of his retreat from Lamport, to the end of November, when he went to France, (which was five months), with a body of above four thousand horse and foot; destroying and irreconciling the country to the King and the cause, without making the least attempt, or in any degree looking after the enemy; whilst the rebels, by formal sieges, took in the garrisons of Bridgewater, Sherborne, and Bristol, and many other important holds.”

Upon the whole matter, comparing his words and his actions, laying his doing and his not doing together, they concluded, “ that if he had been confederate with the enemy, and been corrupted to betray the West, he could not have taken a more effectual way to do it; since he had not interest enough by any overt act to have put it into their power;” and therefore they who had a greater opinion of his wit, courage, and conduct, than of his conscience and integrity, presumed the failing was in the latter; towards which opinion they were the more inclined, by many discourses negligently let fall by the enemy in their quarters, “ that they were sure enough of Goring;” and by Sir Thomas Fairfax’s applying himself to the taking those strong places after the rout at Lamport, without ever considering or looking after the Lord Goring’s army; which, he could not but know, consisted of a body of horse, equal in number to his own; and had reason to apprehend those two populous counties of Devon and Cornwall could quickly recruit the foot; “ which negligence (said they) Fairfax could never be guilty of; if he had not been well assured, that those forces
“ should

“ should work them no inconvenience ;” besides that, being unpursued, Goring might easily have made an escape, and joined with the King, and so have diverted all the enemy’s designs upon the West.

Others, who were not enough in love with the Lord Goring, to desire to be joined with him in any trust, yet in their opinions clearly absolved him from any combination with the enemy, or design of treachery, and imputed the slow managing the business, at his first coming into the West, and overslipping some opportunities of advantage, to his desire of being settled in that command, and so not making haste, lest, the work being done, he might be necessitated to leave those parts, and be called to the King; for, without doubt, though there was a reconciliation made between him and Prince Rupert to that degree, that all the countenance General Goring received from Court in prejudice of the Prince’s authority, and of his Council, was procured for him purely by that Prince; who in one of his letters to him, at such time as he was before Taunton, used these words; “ what you desire in your letter, on the twenty-second of May, shall be observed; and assure yourself “ that Prince Rupert shall maintain General Goring’s “ honour and power, and shall lose his life, rather than “ General Goring shall suffer for Prince Rupert;” which letter (as he did any others, which he received from his Majesty, or the secretaries, in cipher) he communicated to the company in all his acts of good fellowship; yet, I say, it was very evident, he was resolved never to be in the same army with Prince Rupert under his command; and all his loose and scandalous speeches they imputed to an innate licence he had always given himself; and his gross and unfortunate oversights, to the laziness and inactivity of his nature; which could better
3 Y 2 pursue,

purſue, and make advantages upon good ſucceſſes, than ſtruggle and contend with difficulties and ſtraits. And they who had been neareſt the obſervation found a great difference between the preſentneſs of his mind and vivacity in a ſudden attempt, though never ſo full of danger, and an enterpriſe that required more deliberation, and muſt be attended with patience, and a ſteady circumſpection; as if his mind could not be long bent. And therefore he had been obſerved to give over a game, ſooner than gameſters that have been thought to have leſs fire. Many other paſſages muſt be attributed to his perfect hatred of all the perſons of the Council, after he found they would not comply with his deſires, and to his particular ambition; and both thoſe paſſions of ambition and revenge might tranſport his nature beyond any limits. But what he meant by his diſcourſe at parting to the officers, for the keeping the horſe for the ſervice of ſome foreign Prince, was never underſtood, except he did really believe, that he ſhould ſhortly return with a body of foot; and ſo, that they ſhould not be forward to engage with the enemy, or elſe to keep ſuch a dependence upon him from the officers, that they ſhould always hope for employment under him.

Whiſt Sir Richard Greenvil ſtayed, at Okington, he had ſeveral ſtrange deſigns; which he always communicated to the Prince, or lords, in writing; one of which was, “to cut a deep trench from Barnſtable
“to the ſouth ſea, for the ſpace of near forty miles;
“by which, he ſaid, he would defend all Cornwall,
“and ſo much of Devon, againſt the world;” and many ſuch impoſſible undertakings; at which they who underſtood matters of that nature thought him beſides himſelf. Notwithſtanding the Trained Bands of Cornwall returned to their homes, (having ſtayed out
their

their month; which was their first contract), Sir Richard Greenvil stayed still at Okington, with his three regiments of old soldiers, having barricadoed the town; the pass being of very great importance to hinder the enemy from any communication with Plymouth. And indeed the reputation of his being there with a greater strength than in truth he had at any time, was a great means of keeping the rebels on the east side of Exeter; as appears by their sudden advance, as soon as he removed from that post; which he did about the end of November, without giving the least advice to the Prince of such his purpose, and contrary to the express desire of the Lords Capel and Colepepper, who were then at Exeter, and, hearing of his resolution, had written to him very earnestly "not to remove." He suddenly retired with his three regiments from Okington into Cornwall, and mustered his men upon the river Tamar, that divides Cornwall from Devon, with express command "to guard the passes, and not to suffer any of the Lord Goring's men, upon what pretence or warrant soever, to come into Cornwall." For the better doing whereof, he caused the country to come in to work at their bridges and passes, as he had done before, most unreasonably, for the fortifying of Launceston; and caused proclamations, and orders of his own, to be read throughout Cornwall, in the churches, "that if any of the Lord Goring's forces" (whom in those writings he charged with all the odious reproaches for plundering) "should offer to come into Cornwall, they should ring the bells, and thereupon the whole country should rise, and beat them out;" by these unheard of and unwarrantable means, preparing the country to such a hatred of the Lord Goring, and his forces, that they rather desired the company of the rebels; so

alienating all men's spirits from resisting of the enemy ; and all this without so much as communication with the Prince, till it was executed.

About the last week of November, he came himself to Truro to the Prince, on the same day that his Highness had received letters from the lords at Exeter, of the extreme ill consequence of Sir Richard Greenvil's drawing off from Okington ; upon encouragement whereof, a strong party of the enemy was come to Kirtton. Whereupon his Highness sent for Sir Richard Greenvil ; and, in council, acquainted him with those letters, and other intelligence that he had received of the enemy, and desired him to consider what was now to be done. The next day, without attending his Highness any more, but returning to his house at Worrington, he writ a long letter to Mr. Fanshaw of his advice, which he desired might be communicated to the lords ; which was, " that his Highness should send to the " Parliament for a treaty, and should offer, if he might " enjoy the revenue of the Dutchy of Cornwall, and " that they would not advance to disturb him in that " county, that he would not attempt any thing upon " them, but that they should enjoy the freedom of all " their ports in Cornwall for trade, without any disturb- " ance by his Majesty's ships : " and so, in plain English, to fit still a neuter between the King and the Parliament, at a time when there was a body of horse superior to the enemy in those parts ; and when an equal proportion of foot might have been gotten together ; and when his Majesty had not the face of an army in any other part of England. The Prince was very much troubled at this letter, and the more, because he found Sir Richard Greenvil had contracted a great friendship with such of his Highness's servants, as he had reason to believe less zealous

zealous and intent upon the honour and prosperity of the King; and because he had discovered he laboured very much to infuse a jealousy into the Governor of Pendennis-castle, "that the Prince intended to remove him from that command, and to confer it upon the Lord Hopton;" to which purpose he had written to the Governor from Okington, (when the Lord Hopton, and the Chancellor, were sent down thither to assist him in the fortifying and supplying that castle; which if they had not done, it would not have held out, as it did afterwards), "that the Lord Hopton had a commission to take that charge from him; but that he should not suffer such an affront to be put upon him; for he, and all his friends, would stick to him in it:" whereas there was never the least thought or intention to make any alteration in that government.

Shortly after that letter of the twenty-seventh, Sir Richard Greenvil writ again to Mr. Fanshaw, to know how his propositions were approved; to which, by direction, he returned, "that the Council had not been yet together since the receipt of them; the Lords Capel and Colepepper being not then returned from Exeter; and that therefore his propositions had not been yet debated." He proceeded in the mean time in his fortifications there; and, about the middle of December, the Prince continuing at Truro, he sent several letters to the gentlemen of the county "to meet him at Launceston:" one of which letters I saw, to Colonel Richard Arundel; in which, "he desired him to bring as many gentlemen, and others of ability, as he could, as well the disaffected, as well-affected; for that he intended to communicate to them some propositions, which he had formerly preferred to the Prince, and though they were not hearkened to there, he believed

“ would be very acceptable to his countrymen of Cornwall :” but the Prince’s sudden going to Tavistock disappointed that meeting.

Shortly after the Lord Goring’s going into France, the Prince, being informed from Exeter, “ that the enemy, at the same time having finished their works, which kept the city from any relief on the east side, were now drawing their forces to the west side, where by that city would be speedily distressed ;” thought it necessary to send the Lords Brentford, Capel, Hopton, and Colepepper, to confer with the Lord Wentworth ; who lay then at Ashburton, six miles from Totness, and with Sir Richard Greenvil, who was ready to draw some foot into Devon, to the end that such an understanding might be settled between them two, that the service might proceed : their lordships being directed, by instructions under his Highness’s hand, upon consideration of the state of the forces, and conference with the Lord Wentworth, and Sir Richard Greenvil, to advise what speedy course should be taken for the relief of Exeter, (the Prince having at the same time disbursed a thousand pound ready money to two merchants of Exeter, for provision of corn for that city), presuming that both the one and the other would have been very ready to have received and followed the advice which their lordships should give.

The place of meeting was appointed to be Tavistock ; where every body was, save the Lord Wentworth ; but he failing, the lords, having directed Sir Richard Greenvil how to dispose of himself, went themselves to Ashburton, near twenty miles further, to the Lord Wentworth’s quarter ; where they spent a day or two, but found not that respect from him they had reason to have expected. His lordship was very jealous of diminution

nution in his command, which General Goring had devolved to him, and expressing himself oftentimes to them very unnecessarily, "that he would receive orders "from none but the Prince himself;" whereupon, and upon the importunate calling for relief from Exeter, their lordships "thought it absolutely necessary, that "the Prince himself should advance in person, as well "to bring up as great a body of the Cornish as was "possible, (which without his presence was not to be "hoped for), as to dispose the command of the whole "forces in such manner, as might probably be for the "best advantage; the best that was to be hoped for "being to bring the enemy to fight a battle; and that "they might be enabled to that purpose, by joining "with the foot that were in Exeter; which was a considerable body." For the conducting so great a design, upon which no less than three crowns depended, the Lord Wentworth could not be thought of interest, experience, or reputation enough; and yet there was so great regard, that he should not suffer in his honour, or the imaginary trust devolved to him by General Goring, or rather indeed that no notable hazard might be run, by any unnecessary mutation in commands, at a time when the soldier was to be led to fight, that it was resolved, "that he should be rather advised than commanded; "and that if he comported himself with that temper "and modesty, as was expected, all resolutions should "be formed in council, and all orders thereupon should "issue in his name."

The next day after Christmas day, the weather being very sharp, the Prince went from Truro to Bodmin; and the next day to Tavistock; where the lords of the Council attended; the Lord Wentworth continuing at Ashburton, and his horse spread over that part of the

the country which was at any distance from the enemy. Sir Richard Greenvil, who attended likewise at Tavistock, had sent three regiments of foot to Okington, under the command of Major General Moleworth; which were secured by the brigade of horse under Major General Web, who was quartered near those parts, and the Cornish Trained Bands were to come up within a week; the blockade before Plymouth was maintained by General Digby, with about twelve or thirteen hundred foot, and six hundred horse; but the whole contribution assigned for the support of those forces was taken by the Lord Wentworth's horse; so that the Prince was compelled to supply those men, out of the magazines of victual which he had provided in Cornwall for the army when it should march; and to leave his own guard of horse upon the skirts of Cornwall; there being no quarter to be had for them nearer his own person.

About this time, Sir Thomas Fairfax quartered at a house about two miles east of Exeter, Sir Hardres Waller with a brigade of his army at Kirton, and another part of the army had possessed Powdrum-house, and the church, Hulford-house, and some other holds on the west side; so that no provisions went in, and it hath been said before, how long the army under Goring had subsisted upon the provisions within, and kept all supply from entering: the advice taken at Tavistock, upon the Prince's coming thither, was, "that as soon as
"the Cornish foot should be come up, his Highness
"should march with those, his own guards, and as
"many foot as might conveniently be taken from before
"Plymouth, by leaving horse in their place, to Totness;
"where a magazine should be made of provisions for
"the whole army, both by money (for which the coun-
"ty would yield great store of provisions) and by vic-
"tuals

“tuals brought out of Cornwall by sea;” for which likewise directions were given: “from that place it was concluded, that the Prince might join with the forces in Exeter, except the rebels should draw their whole body between them; and then that garrison would be able both to relieve itself, and to infest the enemy in the rear; and the Prince might retire, or fight, as he found it most convenient and advantageous to him.” Resolutions being thus fixed, and the Cornish being not expected in full numbers till the week following, the Prince chose to go to Totniess; where all things necessary might be agreed with the Lord Wentworth, who might conveniently attend there, his quarters being within six miles; and where directions might be given for making the magazine, towards which money had been returned out of Cornwall.

The next day after the Prince came thither, the Lord Wentworth attended him, and was informed in council, what had been thought reasonable at Tavistock; the which he approved of: the Prince then called to see a list of the quarters, that thereupon it might be agreed how the whole army should be quartered when they came together; to which end, the next day, the Lord Wentworth brought the Quarter Master General Pinkney, who indeed governed him. At the first council, the Lord Wentworth told the Prince, “that he was to declare one thing to him, at the entrance into business, and for the prevention of any mistakes, that he could receive no orders from any person but his Highness; the Lord Goring having reposed that trust in him, and given him a commission and instructions to that purpose;” which he often repeated afterwards in council; and, in the debate of quartering, talked very imperiously, and very disrespectfully, and
one

one day, after he had been drinking, very offensively to some of the Council, in the presence of the Prince. The time was not conceived seasonable for the Prince to declare how the army should be commanded, till he had brought it together, and till he had his own guards about him; and so the Prince, though he was nothing satisfied in the Lord Wentworth's carriage, only told him, "that he would take the command of the army upon himself, and issue out orders as he should think fit;" and having visited the port and garrison of Dartmouth, and taken sufficient course for the providing the magazines, and settled the differences about quartering, he returned to Tavistock; resolving, with all possible expedition, to march with the whole body of foot to Totness, according to former appointment.

The day before the Prince began his journey to Tavistock, he received a letter from the King his father, dated upon the seventh of November, in these words:

Oxford, 7th of November, 1645.

" Charles,

A letter
from the
King to the
Prince.

" I leave others to tell you the news of these parts, which are not so ill, as, I believe, the rebels would make you believe: that which I think fit to tell you is, I command you, as soon as you find yourself in a probable danger of falling into the rebels' hands, to transport yourself into Denmark; and, upon my blessing, not to stay too long upon uncertain hopes within this island, in case of danger as above said. For, if I mistake not the present condition of the West, you ought not to defer your journey one hour: in this I am not absolutely positive; but I am directly positive, that your going beyond sea is absolutely necessary for me, as I do, to command you; and I do not
" restrain

“restrain you only to Denmark, but permit you to
 “choose any other country, rather than to stay here :
 “as for Scotland and Ireland I forbid you either, until
 “you shall have perfect assurance, that peace be con-
 “cluded in the one, or that the Earl of Mountrose, in
 “the other, be in a very good condition ; which, upon
 “my word, he is not now : so God bless you.

“Your loving father, *Charles R.*”

Though the intimations in this letter were strong for a present remove, yet they not being positive, and the time of the year being such, as that the Prince could not be blocked up by sea, and so could choose his own time, and having one county entire, and Exeter and Barnstable in the other well garrisoned, besides the blockade before Plymouth, and the reputation of an army, the Council were of opinion, that the time was not yet ripe ; and so pursued the former design of joining the Cornish to the horse, and to endeavour the relief of Exeter ; for which purpose, the Prince undertook the journey before mentioned to Tavistock, the day after Christmas day ; and, at his coming thither, received this other letter from the King.

Oxford, the 7th of December, 1645.

“Charles,

“I writ to you this day month ; of which, few days
 “after, I sent you a duplicate. The causes of my com- Another letter from his Majesty.
 “mands to you in that letter, are now multiplied. I
 “will name but one, which I am sure is sufficient for
 “what I shall now add to my former : it is this ; I have
 “resolved to propose a personal treaty to the rebels at
 “London ; in order to which a trumpet is by this time
 “there, to demand a pass for my messengers, who are to
 “carry

“ carry my propositions; which if admitted, as I believe
 “ it will, then my real security will be, your being in
 “ another country, as also a chief argument (which
 “ speaks itself without an orator) to make the rebels
 “ hearken, and yield to reason : whereas therefore I left
 “ you by my last to judge of the time, I absolutely
 “ command you to seek for carefully, and take the first
 “ opportunity of transporting yourself into Denmark, if
 “ conveniently you can ; but rather than not go out of
 “ this kingdom, immediately after the receipt of this, I
 “ permit, and command you to repair to any other
 “ country, as France, Holland, &c. whereto you may
 “ arrive with most convenient security as to your pas-
 “ sage ; for nothing else is to be feared : I need not
 “ recommend to you the leaving the country in the
 “ best posture you may, it so speaks itself, as I shall
 “ always do to be

“ Your loving father, *Charles R.*”

His Highness, as he used to do, as soon as he had
 perused the letter, which, as the rest, was written in the
 Lord Colepepper's cipher, and by him deciphered, de-
 livered it again to his lordship, “ to be secretly kept, and
 “ communicated to the other three ;” for it was by no
 means yet safe to trust it farther. They were much
 troubled at the receipt of this letter ; for, besides that it
 found them in the article of the most probable design
 had been on foot since the late disasters, to preserve the
 West ; if they should have attempted to have given
 obedience to that command, the sudden, unexpected,
 and unreasonable leaving the army, would visibly have
 declared what the intent had been, and would probably
 have engaged the people, and the soldiers, (who would
 have wanted neither intelligence, nor instigation from
 the

the Prince's own servants; of whom the lords could not rely upon three men), they being full of hope in the enterprise they were upon, and full of dislike of the other they were to choose, to have prevented it; in which, they might reasonably have expected assistance from the garrison of Pendennis; from which place his Highness was necessarily to remove himself. So that if the Prince should attempt to go, and succeed, the army, upon that discountenance, must dissolve; and if he succeeded not, there might be a fatal consequence of the endeavour and disappointment. Then, though they had long kept a ship in the harbour in readiness, and had at that time another frigate of Mr. Hasdunck's, yet by its having been carried with so much secrecy that very few had taken notice of it, they could not be provided for so long a voyage as to Denmark, which, with so important a charge, would require two months victual at least. But that which troubled them most, was the very argument which his Majesty was pleased to use for his so positive command; which, to their understanding, seemed to conclude rather, that his Highness's transportation (at least without an immediate absolute necessity) was at that time most unseasonable: for if, in expectation of a treaty, his Majesty should venture his royal person in London, and should be received there, and at the same time his Highness's person should be transported out of the kingdom, by his Majesty's own commands, (which could not then have been concealed), it was reasonable to believe, that not only the rebels would make great advantage of it, as an argument against his Majesty's sincere intentions, and thereby draw unspeakable and irreparable prejudice upon him; but that his own Council, by which he was disposed to that overture, and whose assistance he must constantly use,

use, would take themselves to be highly disobliged by that act; and they would lose all confidence in their future counsels.

Upon the whole matter, the lords were unanimously of opinion, "that the relief of Exeter was to proceed in the manner formerly agreed, and that the Prince's person was to be present at it:" and thereupon they sent an express to the King, with a dispatch signed by the four who were trusted, a duplicate whereof was sent by another express the next day, in which they presented a clear state to his Majesty of his forces, and the hopes they then had of improving their condition by the Prince's presence; of the condition of Exeter, and of the strength, as they conceived, of the enemy; and of the inconveniency, if not the impossibility, of obeying his Majesty at that time. They farther informed his Majesty of "the great indisposition, that they perceived in all the servants towards his Highness's leaving the kingdom; and that the jealousy was so great of his going into France, that they had reason to believe that many who were very faithful, and tender of his safety, would rather wish him in the hands of the enemy, than in that kingdom; and therefore, when the time of necessity should come, (which they assured his Majesty they would with any hazard watch and observe), they must prefer the continuing him still within his Majesty's own dominions, and so to waite him to Scilly, or Jersey, and from thence conclude what was to be done farther. They presented likewise their humble opinion to him, that in case he should be engaged in a personal treaty at London, (which they conceived the rebels would never admit, without such acts first obtained from his Majesty, as might invalidate his power, and confirm theirs), how inconvenient it might be,

“ be, without the privity of those counsellors, whom he
 “ was then to trust, to transport the Prince, except in
 “ danger of surprisal, before the issue of that treaty
 “ might be discerned :” assuring his Majesty, “ that
 “ nothing should put his Highness’s person into the
 “ hands of the Parliament, but his Majesty’s own com-
 “ mands ; which they should not resist in his own do-
 “ minions, nor, they conceived, any body else, if he
 “ were out of them.”

The appearance at Tavistock answered the expecta-
 tion ; there being full two thousand four hundred of the
 Trained Bands, very cheerful, and ready to march ; at
 Okington were eight hundred old soldiers, under Major
 General Molesworth ; the foot with the Lord Went-
 worth were given out to be eight hundred, with the
 Lord Goring’s guards which were in Dartmouth ; and
 to be drawn thence upon the advance to the army :
 from Barnstable, the Governor had promised to send
 five hundred men ; and out of Exeter, at the least, a
 thousand five hundred men were promised : all which,
 with his Highness’s guards, might well be depended
 upon for six thousand foot. The horse was very little
 fewer than five thousand ; whereof his Highness’s guards
 made near seven hundred ; so that, if all these could
 have been brought to fight, the day seemed not despe-
 rate. The foot were appointed to have marched the
 morrow, when the news came, “ that the enemy was
 “ advanced, and had beaten up the Lord Wentworth’s
 “ quarters in two several places ;” and shortly after the
 news, the Lord Wentworth himself came in, in great
 disorder, not informed of the particular of his loss, but
 conceived it to be greater than in truth it was, though
 many men, and more horses, were taken in both places.
 The Prince was very desirous to pursue the former reso-
 lution,

The Lord
 Went-
 worth’s
 horse beat-
 en at Ash-
 burton.

lution, and to have advanced with the whole body to Totnefs; but the Lord Wentworth did not only allege, “that probably the enemy was poffeffed by that time “of Totnefs, but that he had in truth no hope to rally “his horfe together, in any numbers, till they might be “allowed three or four days reft.” Whereas all that rout had been occafioned by fmall parties of the enemy, who, at day time, came into their quarters, and found no guards, but all the horfe in the ftables; and their whole body moved not in two or three days after; encouraged, it was thought, by the great diforder they found thofe troops to be in. Matters ftanding thus, and it being absolutely neceffary, by reafon of this diforderly retreat of the horfe, to draw off the blockade from Plymouth, Taviftock was no longer thought a place for the Prince’s refidence; his Highnefs by the advice of a council of war removed to Launcefton; whither all the foot were drawn, and the horfe appointed to keep the Devonfhire fide of the river; and from thence he hoped he fhould be fpeedily able to advance towards Exeter.

The King had ftayed at Hereford, as hath been faid, in great perplexity and irrefolution; not knowing which way to take, but moft inclined to go to Worcefter; till he was affured, “that the whole ftrength of the Parliamēt in the North was gathered together under the “command of Pointz; and that he was already come “between Hereford and Worcefter, with a body of “above three thoufand horfe and dragoons; with which “he was appointed always to attend the King’s motion:” fo that it would be very hard for his Majefty to get to Worcefter, whither his purpofe of going was, upon the new refolution he had taken again to march into Scotland to join with Mountrofe, who was yet underftood to be prosperous. This being the only defign, it was not
thought

thought reasonable “ to prosecute that march by Worcester, and thereby to run the hazard of an engagement with Pointz ; but rather to take a more secure passage through North Wales to Chester ; and thence, through Lancashire and Cumberland, to find a way into Scotland, unobstructed by any enemy that could oppose them.” This counsel pleased ; and within four days, though through very unpleasant ways, the King came within half a day’s journey of Chester ; which he found in more danger than he suspected ; for within three days before, the enemy, out of their neighbour garrisons, had surprised both the outworks and suburbs of Chester ; and had made some attempt upon the city, to the great terror and consternation of those within ; who had no apprehension of such a surprise. So that this unexpected coming of his Majesty looked like a designation of Providence for the preservation of so important a place : and the besiegers were no less amazed, looking upon themselves as lost, and the King’s troops believed them to be in their power.

The King marches to Chester, where his horse are routed by Pointz.

Sir Marmaduke Langdale was sent with most of the horse over Holt-bridge, that he might be on the east side of the river Dee ; and the King, with his guards, the Lord Gerrard, and the rest of the horse, marched directly into Chester, with a resolution, “ that, early the day following, Sir Marmaduke Langdale should have fallen upon the back of the enemy, when all the force of the town should have sallied out, and so inclosed them.” But Sir Marmaduke Langdale, being that night drawn on a heath two miles from Chester, had intercepted a letter from Pointz, (who had marched a much shorter way, after he was informed which way the King was bound), to the commander that was before Chester, telling him, “ that he was come to their rescue, and de-

“ firing to have some foot sent to him, to assist him
“ against the King’s horse:” and the next morning he
appeared, and was charged by Sir Marmaduke Lang-
dale, and forced to retire with loss; but kept still at such
a distance, that the foot from before Chester might
come to him. The besiegers begun to draw out of the
suburbs in such haste, that it was believed in Chester,
they were upon their flight; and so most of the horse
and foot in the town had order to pursue them. But
the others’ haste was to join with Pointz; which they
quickly did; and then they charged Sir Marmaduke
Langdale; who, being overpowered, was routed, and
put to flight; and pursued by Pointz even to the walls
of Chester. There the Earl of Litchfield with the
King’s guards, and the Lord Gerrard with the rest of
the horse, were drawn up, and charged Pointz, and
forced him to retire. But the disorder of those horse
which first fled, had so filled the narrow ways, which
were unfit for horse to fight in, that at last the enemy’s
musketeers compelled the King’s horse to turn, and to
rout one another, and to overbear their own officers,
who would have restrained them. Here fell many gen-
tlemen, and officers of name, with the brave Earl of
Litchfield; who was the third brother of that illustrious
family, that sacrificed their lives in this quarrel. He
was a very faultless young man, of a most gentle, cour-
teous, and affable nature, and of a spirit and courage in-
vincible; whose loss all men exceedingly lamented, and
the King bore it with extraordinary grief. There were
many persons of quality taken prisoners, amongst whom
Sir Philip Musgrave, a gentleman of a noble extraction,
and ample fortune in Cumberland and Westmoreland;
who lived to engage himself again in the same service,
and with the same affection, and, after very great suffer-
ings,

ings, to see the King restored. This defeat broke all the body of horse, which had attended the King from the battle of Naseby, and which now fled over all the country to save themselves; and were as much dispersed, as the greatest rout could produce.

The design of marching northward was now at an end; and it was well it was so; for about this very time Mountrose was defeated by David Leslie; so that if the King had advanced farther, as he resolved to have done, the very next day after he came to Chester, he could never have been able to have retreated. He stayed in Chester only one night after this blow, but returned, by the same way by which he had come, to Denbigh-castle in North Wales, being attended only with five hundred horse; and there he stayed three days to refresh himself, and to rally such of his troops as had stopped within any distance. So that, in a short time, he had in view four and twenty hundred horse; but whither to go with them was still the difficult question. Some proposed "the isle of Anglesey, as a place of safety, and "an island fruitful enough to support his forces; which "would defend itself against any winter attempt, and "from whence he might be easily transported into Ireland or Scotland." They who objected against this, as very many objections might well be made, proposed "that his Majesty might commodiously make his winter quarters at Worcester, and by quartering his troops "upon the Severn, between Bridgenorth and Worcester, "stand there upon his guard; and, by the access of "some other forces, might be able to fight with Pointz;" who, by this time, that he might both be able the more to straiten Chester, and to watch the King's motion, had drawn his troops over the river Dee into Denbighshire; so that he was now nearer the King,

The King
retires to
Denbigh to
rally his
horse.

and made the march last proposed much the more difficult ; but there was so little choice, that it was prosecuted, and with good success ; and there being another bridge to pass the Dee some miles further, and through as ill ways as any those countries have, his Majesty went over without any opposition ; and had, by this means, left Pointz a full day's journey behind. Here Prince Maurice waited on his Majesty with eight hundred horse, part whereof was of Prince Rupert's regiment that came out of Bristol. And now being thus strengthened, they less apprehended the enemy ; yet continued their march without resting, till, by fording the Severn, they came to Bridgenorth, the place designed. Now every body expected, that they should forthwith go to Worcester, and take up their winter quarters ; but upon the news of the surrender of Berkley-castle in Gloucestershire, and of the Devizes in Wiltshire, two strong garrisons of the King's, it was urged, " that Worcester " would not be a good place for the King's winter residence, and Newark was proposed as a place of more " security." This advice was the more like to be embraced, because it was vehemently pursued upon a private and particular interest.

Thence to
Bridge-
north.

Though Prince Rupert had submitted to the King's pleasure, in resigning his commission, yet he resolved not to make use of his pass, and to quit the kingdom, till he might first see his Majesty, and give an account of the reasons which obliged him to deliver up Bristol, and was ready to begin his journey towards him, as soon as he could be informed where the King intended to rest. The Lord Digby, who had then the chief influence upon his Majesty's councils, and was generally believed to be the sole cause of revoking the Prince's commission, and of the order sent to him to leave the kingdom,
without

without being more than at hand, as he thought, to see the matter at all his meetings, to give them all the counsel he thought fit, and to be a great help to them, which interested him much in the cause, not only the maintenance of Prince Edward, but all the party in general, with him the contrary nature of the Lord Darcy, who had in his heart a great dislike, without knowing why, and who, when he saw Prince Edward would be a great support to the cause, as Prince Edward was Governor there, who had a great regard to the service his brother had undergone, and was ready to revenge it: whereas if the King were at Newark, the parties were divided, and he would be much more difficult, and Prince Edward would be without any authority there: these reasons were not set enough to the Lord Darcy, so he was advised to draw the King from Worcester, and to make him go to Newark, and his credit was so great, that against the opinion of every other man, the King resolved to take that way, so having stayed only one day at Worcester, and then thence sent Sir Thomas Glanville to receive the government of Oxford, he made haste to Litchfield, and then passed with that speed to Newark, that he was there as soon as the Governor had notice of his purpose. In this manner, in the greatest perplexity of his own affairs, was his Majesty compelled to condescend to the particular and private passions of other men.

When the King came to Newark, he betook himself to the regulating the disorders of that garrison, which, by their great luxury and excesses, in a time of so general calamity, had given just scandal to the communitie, and to all the country. The garrison consisted of about two thousand horse and foot; and to those there were about four and twenty colonels and general officers, who

had all liberal assignments out of the contributions, according to their qualities ; so that though that small county paid more contribution than any other of that bigness in England, there was very little left to pay the common soldiers, or to provide for any other expences. This made so great a noise, that the King found it absolutely necessary to reform it ; and reduced some of the officers entirely, and lessened the pay of others ; which added to the number of the discontented ; which was very much too numerous before. Now reports were spread abroad with great confidence, and the advertisement sent from several places, though no author named, “ that Mountrose, after his defeat, by an access of those
“ troops which were then absent, had fought again with
“ David Lesley ; and totally defeated him ; and that he
“ was marched towards the borders with a strong army.” This news, how groundless soever, was so very good that it was easily believed, and believed to that degree, that the King himself declared a resolution, the third time, “ to advance, and join with Mountrose ;” and the Lord Digby (who knew that Prince Rupert was already upon his way from Oxford, and that Prince Maurice had met him at Banbury) prevailed so far, that the King resolved, without delay, or expecting any confirmation of the report, “ to move northward to meet the news, and, if it
“ fell not out to his wish, he would return to Newark.” In this resolution, after a week’s stay at Newark, he marched to Tuxford ; and the next day to Wellbeck, having, in his way, met with the same general reports of Mountrose’s victories ; which were interpreted as so many confirmations ; and therefore, though the King assembled his Council to consult at Wellbeck, he declared, “ that he would not have it debated, whether he
“ should advance or retire ; but concerning the manner
“ of

“ of his advancing ; since he was resolved not to retire ;
“ which he was sure would be attended with more mis-
“ chief than could accompany his advancing.”

This declaration, how disagreeable soever it was to the sense of much the major part, left very little to be consulted upon ; for since they must advance, it was easily agreed, “ that they should march the next day to Rotham ; and that the troops should be drawn to a rendezvous, the next morning, at such an hour ;” and so the officers were rising to give orders out for the execution of what was resolved ; when, in the instant, one knocked at the door ; who, being called in, was found to be the trumpeter formerly sent from Cardiff to the Scottish army, with a letter to the Earl of Leven, General thereof ; who had taken him with him as far as Berwick, before he would suffer him to be discharged. The King asked him, “ what he had heard of the Marquis of Mountrose ?” He answered, “ that the last news he had heard of him was, that he was about Stirling, retiring farther north ; and that David Lesley was in Lothian, on this side Edinburgh ; and that the Scottish army lay between North Allerton and Newcastle.” This so unexpected relation dashed the former purpose ; and the Lord Digby himself declared, “ that it was by no means fit for his Majesty to advance ; but to retire presently to Newark ;” which was, by every body, agreed to ; and the rendezvous of the army for the next morning to continue. When they were at the rendezvous, the King declared, “ that though it was not judged fit for himself to advance northward, yet he thought it very necessary, that Sir Marmaduke Langdale should, with the horse under his command, march that way ; and endeavour to join with Mountrose.” And, having said so, his Majesty looked upon Sir Marmaduke ; who very cheer-
fully

fully submitted to his Majesty's pleasure; and said, "he had only one suit to make to his Majesty; which was, that the Lord Digby might command in chief, and he under him." All who were present, stood amazed at what was now said; of which no word had passed in Council: but when the Lord Digby as frankly accepted of the command, they concluded, that it had been concerted before between the King and the other two.

No man contradicted any thing that had been proposed; and so immediately, upon the place, a short commission was prepared, and signed by the King, to constitute the Lord Digby Lieutenant General of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the King on the other side of Trent; and with this commission he immediately departed from the King, taking with him from the rendezvous all the northern horse, with Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and Sir Richard Hutton, High Sheriff of Yorkshire, together with the Earls of Carnewarth and Niddisdale, and several other Scottish gentlemen: he marched in the head of fifteen hundred horse; and so in a moment became a General, as well as a Secretary of State; and marched presently to Doncaster.

Because this expedition was in a short time at an end, it will not be amiss to finish the relation in this place; there being no occasion to resume it hereafter. The Lord Digby was informed at his being at Doncaster, "that there was, in a town two or three miles distant, and little out of the way of the next day's march, one thousand foot newly raised for the Parliament;" which he resolved, the next morning, to fall upon: and did it so well, that they all threw down their arms, and dispersed; whereupon he prosecuted his march to a town called Sherborne, where he stayed to refresh his troops; and whilst he stayed there, he had notice of the advance
of

of some troops of horse towards him, under the command of Colonel Copley: Digby presently founded to horse, and having gotten some few troops ready, marched with them out of the town; and finding Copley standing upon a convenient ground, he would not stay for his other companies, but immediately charged them with that courage, that he routed most of their bodies; which, after a short resistance, fled, and were pursued by his horse through Sherborne; where the other troops were refreshing themselves; who discerning the flight of horse, in great consternation, concluded, that they were their own fellows, who had been routed by the enemy; and so with equal confusion they mounted their horses, and fled as fast as the other, such ways, as they severally conceived to be most for their safety. By this means, a troop that remained upon the field unbroken, fell upon the Lord Digby, and those officers and gentlemen who remained about him; who were compelled to make their retreat to Skipton; which they did with the loss of Sir Richard Hutton, (a gallant and worthy gentleman, and the son and heir of a very venerable judge, a man famous in his generation), and two or three other persons; and with the loss of the Lord Digby's baggage; in which was his cabinet of papers; which, being published by the Parliament, administered afterwards so much occasion of discourse.

The Lord
Digby
routed at
Sherborne
in York-
shire.

At Skipton, most of the scattered troops came together again, with which he marched, without any other misadventures, through Cumberland and Westmoreland, as far as Dumfries in Scotland; and then, neither receiving directions which way to march, nor where Mountrose was, and less knowing how to retire without falling into the hands of the Scottish army upon the borders; in the highest despair, that lord, Sir Marmaduke

maduke Langdale, the two earls, and most of the other officers, embarked themselves for the Isle of Man ; and, shortly after, for Ireland ; where we shall leave them, all the troops being left by them, to shift for themselves. Thus those fifteen hundred horse which marched northward, within very few days were brought to nothing ; and the generalship of the Lord Digby, to an end. But if it had not been for that extraordinary accident of the flying of his own troops, because the enemy fled, (as the greatest misfortunes which befel that noble person, throughout the whole course of his life, usually fell out in a conjuncture when he had near attained to what he could wish), he had without doubt been master of York, and of the whole North ; the Parliament having no other forces in all those parts, their garrisons excepted, than those foot which he first defeated, and those horse which he had so near broken. The temper and composition of his mind was so admirable, that he was always more pleased and delighted that he had advanced so far, which he imputed to his own virtue and conduct, than broken or dejected that his success was not answerable, which he still charged upon second causes, for which he thought himself not accountable.

When the Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale left the King, his Majesty marched back to Newark with eight hundred horse of his own guards, and the troops belonging to the Lord Gerrard ; and quickly heard of the misfortune that befel the northern adventurers ; upon which he concluded that it would not be safe for him to stay longer in the place where he was, for by this time Pointz was come with all his troops to Nottingham, and Rossiter with all the force of Lincolnshire to Grantham ; and all the power his Majesty had

was

was not in any degree strong enough to oppose either of them ; so that he was only to watch an opportunity by the darkness of the nights, and good guides, to steal from thence to Worcester, or Oxford ; in either of which he could only expect a little more time and leisure to consider what was next to be done.

But before his Majesty can leave Newark, he must undergo a new kind of mortification from his friends, much sharper than any he had undergone from his enemies ; which, without doubt, he suffered with much more grief, and perplexity of mind. Prince Rupert was now come to Belvoir-castle, with his brother Prince Maurice, and about one hundred and twenty officers who attended him ; with which he had sustained a charge from Roffiter, and broke through without any considerable loss. When the King heard of his being so near, he writ a letter to him, by which “ he required him to “ stay at Belvoir till further order ;” and reprehended him “ for not having given obedience to his former “ commands.” Notwithstanding this command, he came the next day to Newark, and was met by the Lord Gerrard, and Sir Richard Willis, Governor of the town, with one hundred horse, two miles in his way. About an hour after, with this train, he came to the Court ; and found the King in the presence ; and, without ceremony, told his Majesty, “ that he was “ come to render an account of the loss of Bristol, and “ to clear himself from those imputations which had “ been cast upon him.” The King said very little to him ; but, meat being brought up, went to supper ; and, during that time, asked some questions of Prince Maurice, without saying any thing to the other. After he had supped, he retired to his chamber, without admitting any farther discourse ; and the Prince returned to the

An account
of the dis-
contents of
some of his
chief com-
manders
against the
King at
Newark.

the Governor's house, where he was well treated and lodged. The King, how displeased soever, thought it necessary to hear what Prince Rupert would say, that he might with the more ease provide for his own escape from thence ; which it was high time to make. So he appointed the next day to hear his defence, which the Prince made with many protestations of " his innocence, " and how impossible it was long to defend the fort, " after the line was entered." His Majesty did not suspect his nephew to have any malicious design against his service, and had no mind to aggravate any circumstances which had accompanied that action ; and therefore, after a day or two's debate, caused a short declaration to be drawn up, by which Prince Rupert was absolved and cleared from any disloyalty, or treason, in the rendering of Bristol, but not of indiscretion. So that matter was settled ; upon which the King expected the Prince should have departed, as himself resolved to prosecute the means for his own escape, without communicating it to him.

The change of the posture of the enemy, and Pointz's coming to the north side of Trent, made his Majesty resolve to begin his march on the Sunday night, being the twentieth of October ; which he imparted to none but two or three of the nearest trust. But the differences were grown so high between the Governor and the commissioners, (who were all the principal gentlemen of the country, and who had with courage and fidelity adhered to the King from the beginning, and whose interest alone had preserved that place), and had been so much increased by the mutual contests which had been between them in the presence of the King, that there was no possibility of reconciling them, and very little of preserving the garrison, but by the removal of the Governor ;

error; which was so evident to the King, that he resolved on that expedient; and, on the Sunday morning, sent for Sir Richard Willis into his bed-chamber; and after many gracious expressions of "the satisfaction he had received in his service, and of the great abilities he had to serve him," he told him, "his own design to be gone that night; and that he resolved to take him with him, and to make him Captain of his horse guards, in the place of the Earl of Litchfield, who had been lately killed before Chester," (which was a command fit for any subject), "and that he would leave the Lord Bellasis Governor of Newark, who being allied to most of the gentlemen of the adjacent counties, and having a good estate there, would be more acceptable to them." His Majesty condescended so far, as to tell him, "that he did not hereby give a judgment on the commissioners' side, who he declared had been to blame in many particulars; and that he himself could not have an ampler vindication, than by the honour and trust he now conferred upon him: but he found it would be much easier to remove him, than to reform the commissioners; who, being many, could not be any other way united in his service."

Sir Richard Willis appeared very much troubled; and excused the not taking the other command, "as a place of too great honour, and that his fortune could not maintain him in that employment;" he said, "that his enemies would triumph at his removal, and he should be looked upon as cast out and disgraced." The King replied, "that he would take care and provide for his support; and that a man could not be looked upon as disgraced, who was placed so near his person; which, he told him, he would find to be true, when he had thought a little of it." So his Majesty went out of his

his chamber, and presently to the church. When he returned from thence, he sat down to dinner; the lords, and other of his servants, retiring likewise to their lodgings. Before the King had dined, Sir Richard Willis, with both the Princes, the Lord Gerrard, and about twenty officers of the garrison, entered into the presence chamber: Willis addressed himself to the King, and told him, "that what his Majesty had said to him in private, was now the public talk of the town, and very much to his dishonour:" Prince Rupert said, "that Sir Richard Willis was to be removed from his government, for no fault that he had committed, but for being his friend:" the Lord Gerrard added, "that it was the plot of the Lord Digby, who was a traitor, and he would prove him to be so." The King was so surprised with this manner of behaviour, that he rose in some disorder from the table, and would have gone into his bed-chamber; calling Sir Richard Willis to follow him; who answered aloud, "that he had received a public injury, and therefore that he expected a public satisfaction." This, with what had passed before, so provoked his Majesty, that, with greater indignation than he was ever seen possessed with, he commanded them "to depart from his presence, and to come no more into it;" and this with such circumstances in his looks and gesture, as well as words, that they appeared no less confounded; and departed the room, ashamed of what they had done; yet as soon as they came to the Governor's house, they sounded to horse, intending to be presently gone.

The noise of this unheard of insolence quickly brought the lords who were absent, and all the gentlemen in the town, to the King, with expressions full of duty, and a very tender sense of the usage he had endured.

dured. There is no doubt, he could have proceeded in what manner he would against the offenders. But his Majesty thought it best, on many considerations, to leave them to themselves, and to be punished by their own reflections; and presently declared the Lord Bellasis to be Governor; who immediately betook himself to his charge, and placed the guards in such a manner as he thought reasonable. In the afternoon, a petition and remonstrance was brought to the King, signed by the two Princes, and about four and twenty officers; in which they desired, "that Sir Richard Willis might receive a trial by a court of war; and if they found him faulty, then to be dismissed from his charge: and that, if this might not be granted, they desired passes for themselves, and as many horse as desired to go with them." Withal, they said, "they hoped, that his Majesty would not look upon this action of theirs as a mutiny." To the last, the King said, "he would not now christen it; but it looked very like one. As for the court of war, he would not make that a judge of his actions; but for the passes, they should be immediately prepared for as many as desired to have them." The next morning the passes were sent to them; and in the afternoon they left the town; being in all about two hundred horse; and went to Wyverton, a small garrison depending upon Newark; where they stayed some days; and from thence went to Belvoir-castle; from whence they sent one of their number to the Parliament, "to desire leave, and passes, to go beyond the seas."

Besides the exceeding trouble and vexation that this action of his nephews, towards whom he had always expressed such tenderness and indulgence, gave the King, it had well nigh broke the design he had for his

present escape ; which was not possible to be executed in that time ; and Pointz and Rossiter drew every day hearer, believing they had so encompassed him round, that it was not possible for him to get out of their hands. They had now besieged Shetford-house, a garrison belonging to Newark, and kept strong guards between that and Belvoir, and stronger towards Litchfield; which was the way they most suspected his Majesty would incline to take ; so that the truth is, nothing but Providence could conduct him out of that labyrinth : but the King gave not himself over. He had fixed now his resolution for Oxford, and sent a trusty messenger thither with directions, that the horse of that garrison should be ready, upon a day he appointed, between Banbury and Daventry. Then, upon Monday, the third of November, early in the morning, he sent a gentleman to Belvoir-castle, to be informed of the true state of the rebels' quarters, and to advertise Sir Gervas Lucas, the Governor of that garrison, of his Majesty's design to march thither that night, with order that his troops and guides should be ready at such an hour ; but with an express charge, " that he should not acquaint the Princes, or any of their company, with it." That gentleman being returned with very particular information, the resolution was taken " to march that " very night," but not published till an hour after the shutting the ports. Then order was given, " that all " should be ready in the market-place, at ten of the " clock ;" and by that time the horse were all there, and were in number between four and five hundred, of the guards and of other loose regiments ; they were all there put in order ; and every man was placed in some troop ; which done, about eleven of the clock, they began to march ; the King himself in the head of his

The King
retreats to-
wards Ox-
ford.

OWN

own troop marched in the middle of the whole body. By three of the clock in the morning they were at Belvoir ; without the least interruption or alarm given. There Sir Gervas Lucas, and his troop, with good guides were ready ; and attended his Majesty till the break of day ; by which time he was past those quarters he most apprehended ; but he was still to march between their garrisons ; and therefore made no delay, but marched all that day ; passing near Burleigh upon the hill, a garrison of the enemy, from whence some horse waited upon the rear, and took and killed some men, who either negligently stayed behind, or whose horses were tired. Towards the evening the King was so very weary, that he was even compelled to rest and sleep for the space of four hours, in a village within eight miles of Northampton. At ten of the clock that night, they begun to march again ; and were, before day, the next morning past Daventry ; and, before noon, came to Banbury ; ^{And arrives there.} where the Oxford horse were ready, and waited upon his Majesty, and conducted him safe to Oxford that day ; so he finished the most tedious and grievous march that ever King was exercised in, having been almost in perpetual motion from the loss of the battle of Naseby to this hour, with such a variety of dismal accidents as must have broken the spirits of any man who had not been truly magnanimous. At Oxford, the King found himself at rest and ease to revolve and reflect upon what was past, and to advise and consult of what was to be done, with persons of entire devotion to him, and of steady judgments ; and presently after his coming thither, he writ that letter of the seventh of November ; and, shortly after, the other of the seventh of December ; both which are mentioned before, and set down at large.

The King's
affairs in
the West
about this
time.

The Prince of Wales did not enjoy so much rest and ease in his quarters ; for, upon the hurry of the retreat of the horse, which is mentioned before, and which indeed was full of confusion, very many of the Trained Bands of Cornwall broke loose, and run to their houses, pretending “ they feared that the horse would go into “ that county, and plunder them ;” for which fear they had the greater pretence, because, upon the retreat, many regiments had orders from the Lord Wentworth to quarter in Cornwall ; of which his Highness was no sooner advertised, than he sent his orders positive, “ that “ no one regiment of horse should be there, but that “ they should be all quartered on the Devon side.” Upon that, they were dispersed about the county, for the space of thirty miles breadth, as if no enemy had been within two days march of them. There were now drawn together, and to be engaged together in one action against the enemy, all the horse and foot of the Lord Goring ; the command whereof, the Lord Wentworth challenged to himself by deputation ; the horse and foot of Sir Richard Greenvil ; and the horse and foot of General Digby, neither of which acknowledged a superiority in the other, besides the guards ; which nobody pretended to command but the Lord Capel. When the Prince removed from Tavistock, the raising the blockade from Plymouth was absolutely necessary, and it was concluded, as hath been said, at a council of war, “ that “ it would be fit for his Highness to remove to Launceston ; whither the Trained Bands and the rest of “ the foot should likewise come, and the horse march “ on the Devonshire side, and quarter most conveniently in that county.” The care of the retreat, and bringing the provisions from Tavistock, was committed to Sir Richard Greenvil ; which was performed by him

so negligently, that besides the disorders he suffered in Tavistock, by the soldiers, a great part of the magazine of victuals, and three or four hundred pair of shoes, were left there; and so lost. The day after the Prince came to Launceston, Sir Richard Greenvil writ a letter to him, wherein he represented "the impossibility of keeping that army together, or fighting with it in the condition it was then in;" told him, "that he had, the night before, sent directions to Major General Harris," (who commanded the foot that came from about Plymouth), "to guard such a bridge; but that he returned him word, that he would receive orders from none but General Digby; that General Digby said, that he would receive orders from none but his Highness; that a party of the Lord Wentworth's horse had the same night come into his quarters, where his troop of guards and his firelocks were; that neither submitting to the command of the other, they had fallen foul, and two or three men had been killed; that they continued still in the same place, drawn up one against another; that it was absolutely necessary his Highness should constitute one superior officer, from whom all those independent officers might receive orders; without which, it would not be possible for that army to be kept together, or do service; that for his own part, he knew his severity and discipline had rendered him so odious to the Lord Goring's horse, that they would sooner choose to serve the enemy, than receive orders from him; therefore he desired his Highness to constitute the Earl of Brentford, or the Lord Hopton, to command in chief, and then he hoped, some good might be done against the enemy."

The mischief was more visible by much than a remedy; it was evident some action must be with the

enemy within few days, and what inconvenience would flow from any alteration, at such a conjuncture of time, was not hard to guess, when both officer and soldier were desirous to take any occasion, and to find any excuse to lay down their arms; and it was plain, though there were very few who could do good, there were enough that could do hurt; besides, whoever was fit to undertake so great a trust and charge, would be very hardly entreated to take upon him the command of a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked, beaten army, upon which he must engage his honour, and the hope of what was left, without having time to reform or instruct them. That which made the resolution necessary was, that though there was little hope of doing good by any alteration in command, there was evident and demonstrable ruin attended no alteration; and they who were trusted might be accountable to the world, for not advising the Prince to do that, which, how hopeless soever, only remained to be done.

The Lord Hopton made General of the remains of the western army. Lord Wentworth to command the horse, Greenvil the foot.

Thereupon, on the fifteenth of January, his Highness made an order, "that the Lord Hopton should take the charge of the whole army upon him; and that the Lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and Sir Richard Greenvil the foot." It was a heavy imposition, I confess, upon the Lord Hopton, (to the which nothing but the most abstracted duty and obedience could have submitted), to take charge of those horse whom only their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being only terrible in plunder, and resolute in running away. Of all the Trained Bands of Cornwall, there were not three hundred left; and those, by some insussions from Greenvil and others, not so devoted to him as might have been expected. The rest of the foot (besides those who belonged to the Lord Goring,

Goring, which were two regiments of about four hundred) were the three regiments of about six hundred; which belonged to Sir Richard Greenvil, and the officers of them entirely his creatures; and those belonging to General Digby, which were not above five hundred; to these were added (and were indeed the only men, but a small troop of his own of horse and some foot, upon whose affection, courage, and duty he could rely; except some particular gentlemen, who could only undertake for themselves) about two hundred and fifty foot, and eight hundred horse of the guards; who were commanded by the Lord Capel, and entirely to receive orders from his lordship.

The Lord Hopton very generously told the Prince, "that it was a custom now, when men were not willing to submit to what they were enjoined, to say, that it was against their honour; that their honour would not suffer them to do this or that: for his part, he could not obey his Highness at this time, without resolving to lose his honour, which he knew he must; but since his Highness thought it necessary to command him, he was ready to obey him with the loss of his honour." Since the making of this order was concluded an act of absolute necessity, and the Lord Hopton had so worthily submitted to it, it was positively resolved by his Highness, "that it should be dutifully submitted to by all other men; or that the refusers should be exemplarily punished." There was not the least suspicion that Sir Richard Greenvil would not willingly have submitted to it; but it was believed that the Lord Wentworth, who had carried himself so high, and more insolently since his disorderly retreat than before, would have refused; which if he had done, it was resolved by the Prince pre-

sently to have committed him, and to have desired the Lord Capel to have taken the charge of the horse.

His Highness sent Sir Richard Greenvil a letter of thanks, "for the advice which he had given; and which, he said, he had followed, as by the inclosed order he might perceive; by which his Highness had committed the care and charge of the whole army to the Lord Hopton, appointing that the Lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and Sir Richard Greenvil all the foot, and both to receive orders from the Lord Hopton:" no man imagining it possible that, besides that he had given the advice, he could have refused that charge, by which he was to have a greater command than ever he had before, and was to be commanded by none but by whom he had often been formerly commanded. But the next day after he received that letter and order, contrary to all expectation, he writ to his Highness "to desire to be excused, in respect of his indisposition of health;" expressing, "that he could do him better service in getting up the soldiers who straggled in the country, and in suppressing Malignants;" and at the same time writ to the Lord Colepepper, "that he could not consent to be commanded by the Lord Hopton." It plainly appeared now, that his drift was to stay behind, and command Cornwall; with which, considering the premises, the Prince thought he had no reason to trust him. He sent for him therefore, and told him "the extreme ill consequence that would attend the public service, if he should then, and in such a manner, quit the charge his Highness had committed to him; that more should not be expected from him than was agreeable to his health; and that if he took the command upon
" him,

“ him, he should take what adjutants he pleased to assist him.” But notwithstanding all that the Prince could say to him, or such of his friends who thought they had interest in him, he continued obstinate; and positively refused to take the charge, or to receive orders from the Lord Hopton.

What should the Prince have done? for besides the ill consequence of suffering himself to be in that manner contemned, at a time when that army was so indisposed, it was very evident, if Greenvil were at liberty, and the army once marched out of Cornwall, he would have put himself in the head of all the discontented party, and at least endeavoured to have hindered their retreat back into Cornwall, upon what occasion soever; and for the present that he would underhand have kept many from marching with the army, upon the senseless pretence of defending their own country. So that, upon full consideration, his Highness thought fit to commit him to prison to the Governor of Launceston; and, within two or three days after, sent him to the Mount; where he remained till the enemy was possessed of the country; when his Highness, that he might by no means fall into their hands, gave him leave to transport himself beyond the sea.

Sir Richard Greenvil refusing the command, the Prince commits him to prison.

The Lord Wentworth, though he seemed much surprised with the order when he heard it read at the Board, and desired “ time to consider of it till the next day, that he might confer with his officers;” yet, when the Prince told him, “ that he would not refer his acts to be scanned by the officers; but that he should give his positive answer, whether he would submit to it, or no; and then his Highness knew what he had to do;” he only desired “ to consider till the afternoon;” when he submitted; and went that night out of town to his quarters;

of

of which most men were not glad, but rather wished (since they knew he would never obey cheerfully) that he would have put the Prince to have made further alterations; which yet would have been accompanied with hazard enough. By this time the intelligence was certain of the loss of Dartmouth, which added neither courage nor numbers to our men; and the importunity was such from Exeter for present relief, that there seemed even a necessity of attempting somewhat towards it, upon how great disadvantage soever; and therefore the Lord Hopton resolved to march by the way of Chimley; that so, being between the enemy and Barnstable, he might borrow as many men out of the garrison, as could be spared; and by strong parties at least to attempt upon their quarters. But it was likewise resolved, "that in respect of the smallness of the numbers, and
 "the general indisposition, to say no worse, both in officer and soldier, it would not be fit for his Highness
 "to venture his own person with the army; but that
 "he should retire to Truro, and reside there;" against which there were objections enough in view, which were however weighed down by greater.

Whoever had observed the temper of the gentry of that county towards Sir Richard Greenvil, or the clamour of the common people against his oppression and tyranny, would not have believed, that such a necessary proceeding against him, at that time, could have been any unpopular act; there being scarce a day, in which some petition was not presented against him. As the Prince passed through Bodmin, he received petitions from the wives of many substantial and honest men; amongst the rest, of the Mayor of Liffithiel; who was very eminently well affected and useful to the King's service; all whom Greenvil had committed to the common

men gaol, for presuming to fish in that river; the royalty of which he pretended belonged to him, by virtue of the sequestration, granted him by the King, of the Lord Roberts's estate at Lanhetherick; whereas they who were committed, pretended a tide, and had always used the liberty of fishing in those waters, as tenants to the Prince of his Highness's manor of Liffithiel; there having been long suits between the Lord Roberts and the tenants of that manor, for that royalty. And when his Highness came to Tavistock, he was again petitioned by many women for the liberty of their husbands, whom Sir Richard had committed to prison, for refusing to grind at his mill, "which, he said, they were bound by the custom to do." So by his martial power he had asserted whatever civil interest he thought fit to lay claim to; and never discharged any man out of prison, till he absolutely submitted to his pleasure.

There were in the gaol at Launceston, at this time when himself was committed, at least thirty persons, constables and other men, whom he had committed, and imposed fines upon, some of three, four, and five hundred pounds, upon pretence of delinquency, (of which he was in no case a proper judge), for the payment whereof they were detained in prison. Amongst the rest, was the Mayor of St. Ives, one Hammond, who had then the reputation of an honest man; and was certified to be such by Colonel Robinson the Governor, and by all the neighbouring gentlemen. After the late insurrection there, which is spoken of before, he had given his bond to Sir Richard Greenvil, of five hundred pound, to produce a young man, who was then absent, and accused to be a favourer of that mutiny, within so many days. The time expired before the man could

could be found ; but within three days after the expiration of the term, the Mayor sent the fellow to Sir Richard Greenvil : that would not satisfy ; but he sent his Marshal for the Mayor himself, and required fifty pound of him for having forfeited his bond, and upon his refusal forthwith to pay it, committed him to the gaol at Launceston. The son of the Mayor presented a petition to the Prince, at Truro, for his father's liberty, setting forth the matter of fact as it was, and annexing a very ample testimony of the good affection of the man. The petition was referred to Sir Richard Greenvil, with direction, " that if the case were in truth such, " he should discharge him." As soon as the son brought this petition to him, he put it in his pocket ; told him, " the Prince understood not the business ;" and committed the son to gaol, and caused irons to be put upon him for his presumption. Upon a second petition to the Prince, at Launceston, after the time that Sir Richard himself was committed, he directed the Lord Hopton, " upon examination of the truth of it, to discharge the man ;" of which when Sir Richard heard, he sent to the gaoler " to forbid him, at his peril, to discharge Hammond ;" threatening him " to make him pay the money ;" and, after that, caused an action to be entered in the town-court at Launceston upon the forfeiture of the bond. Yet, notwithstanding all this, he was no sooner committed by the Prince, than even those who had complained of him as much as any, expressed great trouble ; and many officers of those forces which he had commanded, in a tumultuous manner, petitioned for his release ; and others took great pains to have the indisposition of the people, and the ill accidents that followed, imputed to that proceeding against Sir Richard Greenvil ; in which none were more forward, than some
of

of the Prince's own household servants; who were so tender of him, that they forgot their duty to their master.

It was Friday the sixth of February, before the Lord Hopton could move from Launceston, for want of carriages for their ammunition, and provision of victual. Neither had he then carriages for above half their little store, but relied upon the commissioners to send the remainder after; and so went to Torrington; where he resolved to fasten, till his provisions could be brought up, and he might receive certain intelligence of the motion and condition of the enemy. He had not continued there above four days, in which he had barricadoed, and made some little fastnesses about the town, when Sir Thomas Fairfax advanced to Chimley, within eight miles of Torrington, with six thousand foot, three thousand five hundred horse, and five hundred dragoons; of which so near advance of the enemy (notwithstanding all the strict orders for keeping of guards; whereof one guard was, or was appointed to be, within two miles of Chimley) he had not known but by a lieutenant, who was accidentally plundering in those parts, and fell amongst them. So negligent and unfaithful were both officers and soldiers in their duty.

The Lord Hopton having this intelligence of the strength and neighbourhood of the enemy, had his election of two things, either to retire into Cornwall, or to abide them where he was: the first, besides the disheartening of his men, seemed rather a deferring, than a preventing of any mischief that could befall him; for he foresaw, if he brought that great body of horse into Cornwall, the few that remained of the Trained Bands would immediately dissolve, and run to their houses; and the remainder of horse and foot, in a short time, be

The Lord Hopton's forces routed at Torrington by Sir Thomas Fairfax.

be destroyed without an enemy. Therefore he rather chose, notwithstanding the great disadvantage of number in foot, to abide them in that place; where, if the enemy should attempt him in so fast a quarter, he might defend himself with more advantage, than he could in any other place. So he placed his guards, and appointed all men to their posts, having drawn as many horse (such as on the sudden he could get) into the town, as he thought necessary; the rest being ordered to stand on a common, at the east end of the town. But the enemy forced the barricado in one place by the baseness of the foot; with which the horse in the town more basely received such a fright, that they could neither be made to charge, nor stand; but, in perfect confusion, run away; whose example all the foot upon the line, and at their other posts, followed; leaving their General (who was hurt in the face with a pike, and his horse killed under him) with two or three gentlemen, to shift for themselves; one of the officers publicly reporting, lest the soldiers should not make haste enough in running away, "that he saw their General run through the body with a pike." The Lord Hopton recovering a fresh horse, was compelled (being thus deserted by his men) to retire; which he did, to the borders of Cornwall; and stayed at Stratton two or three days, till about a thousand or twelve hundred of his foot came up to him. It was then in consultation, since there was no likelihood of making any stand against the enemy with such foot, and that it was visible that body of horse could not long subsist in Cornwall, whether the horse might not break through to Oxford; which, in respect of their great weariness, having stood two or three days and nights in the field, and the enemy's strength being drawn up within two miles of them, was concluded to be impossible. Besides that there was

was at that time a confident assurance, by an express (Sir D. Wyatt) out of France, "of four or five thousand foot to come from thence within three weeks, or a month at farthest;" those letters, and the messenger, averring, "that most of the men were ready, when he came away."

The enemy advanced to Stratton, and so to Launceston; where Mr. Edgecomb, who had always pretended to be of the King's party, with his regiment of Trained Bands, joined with them; and the Lord Hopton retired to Bodmin; the horse, officers and soldiers, notwithstanding all the strict orders, very negligently performing their duty; insomuch as the Lord Hopton protested, "that, from the time he undertook the charge, to the hour of their dissolving, scarce a party or guard appeared with half the number appointed, or within two hours of the time;" and Goring's brigade, having the guard upon a down near Bodmin, drew off without orders, and without sending out a scout; insomuch as the whole gross of the rebels were at day-time marched within three miles, before the foot in Bodmin had any notice. So that the Lord Hopton was instantly forced to draw off his foot and carriages westward; and kept the field that cold night, being the first of March; but could not, by all his orders diligently sent out, draw any considerable body of horse to him by the end of the next day; they having quartered themselves at pleasure over the country, many above twenty miles from Bodmin, and many running to the enemy; and others purposely staying in their quarters, till the enemy came to dispossess them.

When, by the disorders and distractions of the army, which are before set down, his Highness was persuaded to make his own residence in Cornwall, he came to
Truro

Truro on the 12th day of February; where he received a letter from the King, directed to those four of the Council who had signed that to his Majesty at Tavistock. This letter was dated at Oxford the 5th of February, and contained these words;

“Yours from Tavistock hath fully satisfied me, why
 “my commands concerning Prince Charles’s going be-
 “yond sea were not obeyed. And I likewise agree
 “with you in opinion, that he is not to go until there
 “be an evident necessity; also approving very much
 “of the steps whereby you mean to do it. But withal,
 “I reiterate my commands to you for the Prince’s go-
 “ing over, whensoever there shall be a visible hazard of
 “his falling into the rebels’ hands. In the mean time,
 “I like very well that he should be at the head of the
 “army; and so much the rather, for what I shall now
 “impart to you of my resolution,” &c. And so pro-
 ceeded in the communication of his own design of taking
 the field; which was afterwards frustrated by the defeat
 of my Lord Aftley, and the ill success in the West.

The Prince
 goes to Pen-
 dennis.

The Prince having stayed some days at Truro, went to Pendennis; intending only to recreate himself for two or three days, and to quicken the works, which were well advanced; his Highness having issued all the money he could procure, towards the finishing of them. But, in the very morning that he meant to return to Truro, his army being then retired, and Fairfax at the edge of Cornwall, the Lord Hopton and the Lord Capel sent advertisements, “that they had severally received intelligence of a design to seize the person of the Prince; and that many persons of quality of the country were privy to it.” Hereupon the Prince thought it most convenient to stay where he was, and so returned no more to Truro. The time of apparent danger was now in
 view,

view, and if there were in truth any design of seizing the Prince's person, they had reason to believe that some of his own servants were not strangers to it. The Lords Capel and Hopton being at the army; only the Prince, the Lord Colepepper, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, knew the King's pleasure, and what was to be done. And they two had no confidence, that they should have reputation enough to go through with it; the Earl of Berkshire continuing very jealous of the design of going into France, whatever they said to the contrary: the Governor of the castle was old and fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his son, though a gallant gentleman, and worthy of any trust, had little credit with his father.

There was no letter from the King (though they had long before desired such a one, and proposed the form) fit to be publicly shewed, in which there were not some clauses which would have been applied to his Majesty's disservice; especially if he should have been at London, which was then confidently averred by some, who swore "they met him at Uxbridge." Therefore these two counsellors concluded, "that the Prince's going away must seem to be the effect of counsel upon necessity, and the appearance of danger to his person, without any mention of the King's command." But how to procure this resolution from the Council was the difficulty. They very well knew the lords' minds who were absent, but durst not own that knowledge, lest the design might be more suspected. In the end, having advised Baldwin Wake, to cause the frigate belonging to Hasdunck, and the other ships, to be ready upon an hour's warning; they proposed in council, when the Lords Berkshire and Brentford were present, "to send Mr. Fanshaw to the army, to receive the

“ opinion and advice of the lords that were there, what
“ was best to be done with reference to the person of
“ the Prince, and whether it were fit to hazard him in
“ Pendennis;” which was accordingly done. Their
lordships, according to the former agreement between
them, returned their advice, “ that it was not fit to ad-
“ venture his Highness in that castle, (which would not
“ only not preserve his person, but probably, by his stay
“ there, might be lost; but by his absence might de-
“ fend itself), and that he should remove to Jersey or
“ Scilly.” This, upon Mr. Fanshaw’s report, was
unanimously consented to by the whole Council.

But because Jersey was so near to France, and so
might give the greater umbrage, and that Scilly was a
part of Cornwall, and was by them all conceived a
place of unquestionable strength, the public resolution
was for Scilly, it being in their power, when they were
at sea, to go for Jersey, if the wind was fair for one, and
cross to the other. So the resolution being imparted to no
more that night, than was of absolute necessity, (for we ap-
prehended clamour from the army, from the country, and
from that garrison in whose power the Prince was), the
next morning, being Monday, the second of March, after
the news was come that the army was retiring from Bod-
min, and the enemy marching furiously after, and thereby
men were sufficiently awakened with the apprehension
of the Prince’s safety; the Governor and his son were
called into the council, and made acquainted with the
Prince’s resolution, “ that night to embark himself for
“ Scilly, being a part of Cornwall; from whence, by
“ such aids and relief, as he hoped he should procure
“ from France and foreign parts, he should be best able
“ to relieve them.” And accordingly, that night, about
ten of the clock, he put himself on board; and on
Wednesday

Wednesday in the afternoon arrived safe in Scilly; ^{Thence by} from whence, within two days, the Lord Colepepper was ^{St. John's} sent into France, to acquaint the Queen "with his Highness's being at Scilly; with the wants and incommodities of that place; and to desire supply of men and monies for the defence thereof, and the support of his own person;" it being agreed in council, before the Lord Colepepper's going from Scilly, "that if, upon advancement of the Parliament fleet, or any other apparent danger, his Highness should have cause to suspect the security of his person there," (the strength of the place in no degree answering expectation, or the fame of it), "he would immediately embark himself in the same frigate," (which attended there), "and go to Jersey."

When the Lord Hopton found that he could put no restraint to the licence of the soldiers, he called a council of war to consider what was to be done. The principal officers of horse were so far from considering any means to put their men in order, and heart to face the enemy, that they declared in plain English, "that their men would never be brought to fight;" and therefore proposed positively, "to send for a treaty:" from which not one officer dissented, except only Major General Web, who always professed against it. The Lord Hopton told them, "it was a thing he could not consent to without express leave from the Prince, (who was then at Pendennis-castle), to whom he would immediately dispatch away an express;" hoping that, by that delay, he should be able to recover the officers to a better resolution; or that, by the advance of the enemy, they would be compelled to fight. But they continued their importunity, and at last (no doubt by the advice of our own men; for many, both officers and

soldiers, went every day in to them) a trumpet arriv'd from Sir Thomas Fairfax with a letter to the Lord Hopton, offering a treaty, and making some propositions to the officers and soldiers. His lordship communicated not this letter to above one or two, of principal trust; conceiving it not fit, in that disorder and dejection, to make it public. Hereupon, all the principal officers assemble together, (except the Major General, Web), and expressing much discontent that they might not see the letter, declare peremptorily to the Lord Hopton, "that if he would not consent to it, they were resolv'd to treat themselves." And from this time they neither kept guards, nor performed any duty; their horse every day mingling with those of the enemy, without any act of hostility. In this strait, the Lord Hopton having sent his ammunition and foot into Pendennis, and the Mount, and declared, "that he would neither treat for himself nor the garrisons," he gave the horse leave to treat; and thereupon those articles were concluded, by which that body of horse was dissolved; and himself and the Lord Capel, with the first wind, went from the Mount to Scilly, to attend his Highness; who, as is said, was gone thither from Pendennis-castle, after the enemy's whole army was entered Cornwall.

The Lord
Hopton's
army dis-
solved.

Having left the Prince in Scilly, so near the end of that unprosperous year 1645, (for it was upon the three and twentieth of March), that there will be no more occasion of mentioning him till the next year, and being now to leave Cornwall, it will be necessary to inform the reader of one particular. It is at large set down, in a former book, what proceedings had been at Oxford against Duke Hamilton; and how he had been first sent prisoner to Bristol, and from thence to Pendennis-castle in Cornwall. And since we shall hereafter find him

Touching
Duke Ha-
milton pri-
soner at
Pendennis.

him acting a great part for the King, and General in the head of a great army, it would be very incongruous, after having spent so much time in Cornwall without so much as naming him, to leave men ignorant what became of him, and how he obtained his liberty; which he employed afterwards with so much zeal for the King's service to the loss of his life; by which he was not only vindicated, in the opinion of many honest men, from all those jealousies and aspersions, he had long suffered under; but the proceeding that had been against him at Oxford, was looked upon by many as void of that justice and policy, which had been requisite; and they concluded by what he did after a long imprisonment, how much he might have done more successfully, if he had never been restrained. Without doubt, what he did afterwards, and what he suffered, ought, in great measure, to free his memory from any reproaches for the errors, or weakness, of which he had before been guilty. What were the motives and inducements of his commitment, have been at large set down before in the proper place. It remains now, only to set down how he came at last to be possessed of his liberty, and why he obtained it no sooner, by other more gracious ways from the King; which might have been an obligation upon him; when it might easily have been foreseen, that he must be, in a short time, at liberty, notwithstanding any opposition.

When the Prince first visited Cornwall, to settle his own revenue of that Dutchy; which was the only support he had, and out of which he provided for the carrying on the King's service, upon many emergent occasions; he spent some days at Truro, to settle his duty upon the tin, by virtue of his ancient privilege of pre-emption. And in that time, which was about the end

of July, the Governor of Pendennis-castle invited him to dine there; which his Highness willingly accepted; that he might take a full view of the situation and strength thereof; having it then in his view, that he might probably be compelled to resort thither. Every man knew well that Duke Hamilton was then a prisoner there, and therefore it was to be considered, what the Prince was to do, if the Duke should desire, as without doubt he would, to kiss his hand. And it was resolved without dispute, "that the Prince was not to admit such a person into his presence, who stood so much in his father's displeasure, and was committed to prison by him; and that none of the Council, or of his Highness's servants, should visit, or enter into any kind of correspondence with him." Thereupon the Governor was advised, in regard the accommodations in the castle were very narrow, "that, during the time the Prince was in the castle, the Duke should be removed out of his chamber into one of the soldiers' houses;" which was done accordingly. This the Duke took very heavily, lamenting "that he might not be admitted to see the Prince;" and had a desire to have conferred with the Lord Colepepper, or the Chancellor, which they were not then at liberty to have satisfied him in. He afterwards renewed the same desire to them both, by his servant Mr. Hamilton. Hereupon, when the Chancellor was shortly after sent to visit the ports of Padstow, the Mount, and Pendennis, which was about the middle of August, (the business being, under that disguise, to provide for the Prince's transportation, when it should be necessary), the Prince referred it to him "to see the Duke, if he found it convenient." When he came to Pendennis, and was to stay there necessarily some days, he was informed, "that the Duke came al-

ways

“ ways abroad to meals, and that at that time all men
“ spoke freely with him:” so that, either he was to be made
a close prisoner by his being there, or they were to meet
at supper and dinner. The Governor then asked him,
“ whether the Duke should come abroad.” The Chan-
cellor had neither authority nor reason to make any al-
teration; therefore he told him, “ he knew his own
“ course, which he presumed he would observe whoever
“ came; and that if the Duke pleased, he would wait
“ upon him in his chamber, to kiss his hands before
“ supper;” the which he did.

When the Duke, after some civilities to him whom
he had long known, and some reproaches to the Gover-
nor, who was present, “ of his very strict usage and
“ carriage towards him;” which, he said, he believed
he could not justify, (whereas the Chancellor well knew,
that the Governor was absolutely governed by him),
spoke to him of his own condition, and of “ his misfor-
“ tune to fall into his Majesty’s displeasure, without
“ having given him any offence.” He told him, “ that
“ he had very much desired to speak with him, that he
“ might make a proposition to him, which he thought
“ for the King’s service; and he desired, if it seemed so
“ to him, that he would find means to recommend it to
“ his Majesty, and to procure his acceptance of it.”
Then he told him, “ that he was an absolute stranger
“ to the affairs of both kingdoms, having no other
“ intelligence, than what he received from gentlemen
“ whom he met in the next room at dinner; but he
“ believed, by his Majesty’s late loss at Naseby, that his
“ condition in England was very much worse than his
“ servants hoped it would have been; and therefore,
“ that it might concern him to transact his business in
“ Scotland as soon as might be: that he knew not in
“ what

" what state the Lord Mountrose was in that kingdom,
 " but he was persuaded that he was not without opposi-
 " tion." He said, " he was confident that if he him-
 " self had his liberty, he could do the King considerable
 " service, and either incline that nation powerfully to
 " mediate a peace in England, or positively to declare
 " for the King, and join with Mountrose." He said,
 " he knew, it was believed by many, that the animosity
 " was so great from him to Mountrose, who indeed had
 " done him very causeless injuries, that he would rather
 " meditate revenge than concur with him in any action:
 " but, he said, he too well understood his own danger,
 " if the King and monarchy were destroyed in this
 " kingdom, to think of private contention and matters
 " of revenge, when the public was so much at stake.
 " And he must acknowledge, how unjust soever the
 " Lord Mountrose had been to him, he had done the
 " King great service;" and therefore protested with
 " many asseverations, " he should join with him in the
 " King's behalf, as with a brother; and if he could not
 " win his own brother from the other party, he would
 " be as much against him. He said, he could not ap-
 " prehend that his liberty could be any way prejudicial
 " to the King; for he would be a prisoner still upon his
 " parole; and would engage his honour, that if he found
 " he could not be able to do his Majesty that acceptable
 " service which he desired, (of which he had not the least
 " doubt), he would speedily return, and render himself a
 " prisoner again in the place where he then was." In
 " this discourse he made very great professions, and ex-
 " pressions of his devotion to the King's service, of his
 " obligations to him, and of the great confidence he had,
 " in this particular, of being useful to his Majesty.

After he made some pause, in expectation of what
 the

the Chancellor would say, the Chancellor told him,
“ he doubted not but he was very able to serve the
“ King both in that and in this kingdom ; there being
“ very many in both who had a principal dependance
“ upon him : that he heard the King was making some
“ propositions to the Scottish army in England, and
“ that it would be a great instance of his affection and
“ fidelity to the King, if by any message from him to
“ his friends and dependents in the Scottish army then
“ before Hereford, or to his friends in Scotland, his
“ brother being the head or prime person of power there
“ that opposed Mountrose, they should declare for the
“ King, or appear willing to do him service ; and that
“ he having free liberty to send, through the Parlia-
“ ment’s army, to London, or into Scotland, he might
“ as soon do the King this service, as receive a warrant
“ for his enlargement ; which, he presumed, he knew
“ could not be granted but by the King himself.”

The Duke replied, “ that he expected that answer,
“ but that it was not possible for him to do any thing
“ by message or letter, or any way but by his presence :
“ first, that they, in whom he had interest, would look
“ upon any thing he should write, or any message he
“ should send, as the result of distress and compulsion,
“ not of his affection or judgment. Besides, he said,
“ he looked upon himself as very odious to that nation,
“ which was irreconciled to him for his zeal to the
“ King, and thought this a just judgment of God upon
“ him for not adhering to them. And, he said, for his
“ own brother, who he heard indeed had the greatest
“ influence upon their counsels, he had no reason to be
“ confident in him, at that distance ; for, besides the
“ extreme injury he had done him, in making an escape
“ from Oxford, by which both their innocencies were
“ made

“ made to be suspected, and for which he should never
“ forgive him, he was the heir of the house and family ;
“ and, he believed, would be content that himself should
“ grow old and die in prison : whereas, if he were at li-
“ berty, and amongst them, he was confident some for
“ love, and others for fear, would stick to him ; and he
“ should easily make it appear to those who were fiercest
“ against the King, that it concerned their own interest
“ to support the King in his just power. However, he
“ concluded, that the worst that could come was his re-
“ turning to prison, which he would not fail to do.”
So the discourse ended for that night.

The next day the Duke entered again into the same argument, with much earnestness, that the Chancellor would interpose, upon that ground, for his liberty ; who told him, “ that he was so ill a courtier, that he
“ could not dissemble to him : that he was not satisfied
“ with his reasons, and could not but believe, he had
“ interest enough, at that distance, to make some real
“ demonstration of his affection to the King, by the
“ impression he might make upon his dependents and
“ allies : and therefore that he could not offer any ad-
“ vice to the King, to the purpose he desired.” He told him, “ that he had been present at the Council Table
“ when the King communicated that business, which
“ concerned him, to the Board ; and that he gave his
“ opinion fully, and earnestly, for his commitment ;
“ being satisfied, upon the information that was given
“ concerning him, that his affection to the King was
“ very questionable ; and that it appeared, that he had
“ been earnestly pressed by those persons of honour in
“ that kingdom, upon whom his Majesty relied, to de-
“ clare himself ; and that if he could have been induced
“ so to do, having promised the King he would, and
“ having

“having authority to that purpose from him, they
“might very easily have suppressed that rebellion in
“the bud: but that his lordship and his brother were
“so far from opposing it, that the very proclamation
“which had issued out there for the general insurrection
“(which proclamation was perused at Council Table,
“when he was committed) was not only set forth in his
“Majesty’s own name, but sealed with his signet;
“which was then in the custody of the Earl of Lan-
“rick his brother, he being Secretary of State in that
“kingdom. That those who were the principal in-
“formers against him, and who professed that they
“could do no service, if he were at liberty, now since
“his restraint, being armed with no more authority
“than he had, at his last being there, when the king-
“dom was in peace, had, upon all disadvantages ima-
“ginable, when that kingdom was totally lost to the
“King, reduced the greatest part of it again to his
“obedience; and therefore, whether it was his lordship’s
“misfortune, or his fault, since things prospered so well
“in his absence, he could not, as a counsellor, advise
“the King, without the privy and consent of the Lord
“Mountrose, or without some such testimony of his
“service, as he had before proposed, to give him his
“liberty: and that any ill success, which possibly might
“have no relation to that act, would yet be imputed to
“that counsel; and the Lord Mountrose have at least a
“just or probable excuse, for any thing that should
“happen amiss.”

The Duke thanked him for the freedom he had used
towards him; and said, “upon the information which was
“given against him, he must acknowledge the proceed-
“ings to be very just; but he was confident, whenever
“he

“ he should be admitted to a fair hearing, he should ap-
 “ pear very innocent from the allegations which had been
 “ given.” He said, “ he had never made the least promise
 “ to the King, which he had not exactly performed ;
 “ that he had not authority or power to cross any thing
 “ that was done to the prejudice of the King ; and
 “ therefore to have made any such attempt, or declara-
 “ tion, as some lords had desired, in that conjuncture of
 “ time, had been to have destroyed themselves to no
 “ purpose : and therefore, he made haste to the King
 “ with such propositions and overtures, that he was
 “ confident, if he had been admitted to have spoken
 “ with his Majesty, at his coming to Oxford, he should
 “ have given good satisfaction in them ; and then in-
 “ tended immediately to have returned into Scotland ;
 “ with such authority and countenance, as the King
 “ could well have given him ; and doubted not but to
 “ have prevented any inconveniences from that king-
 “ dom : but that by his imprisonment (which he could
 “ have prevented, for he had notice upon his journey,
 “ what was intended, and trusted so much in his inno-
 “ cence, that he would not avoid it) all those designs
 “ failed. For his brother, he could say nothing ; but
 “ he believed him an honest man ; and for the pro-
 “ ceedings of the Lord Mountrose, though he had re-
 “ ceived good assistance from Ireland, which was a good
 “ foundation, he could not but say, it had been little
 “ less than miraculous : however, he presumed the
 “ work was not so near done there, but that his assistance
 “ might be very seasonable.” After this they spoke
 often together ; but this was the substance and result of
 all ; he insisting upon his present liberty, and the other
 as pressing, that he would write to his friends. Yet the

Chancellor

Chancellor promised him "to present, by the first convenience, his suit and proposition to the King;" which he shortly after did in a letter to the Lord Digby.

Upon the first news of the loss of the battle of Naseby, it was enough foreseen, that the Prince himself might be put to a retreat to Pendennis-castle. Therefore they wished, "that it might be in the Prince's power, upon an emergent occasion, to remove the Duke from that place." Which consideration the Lord Colepepper presented to the King, at his being with him in Wales; and thereupon a warrant was sent from the King, for the removal of the Duke to Scilly; which was likewise foreseen that the Prince might repair to. As the enemy drew nearer the West, many good men were very solicitous, that the Duke should be removed from Pendennis, having a great jealousy of the interest he had in the Governor; of which there was so universal a suspicion, that many letters were writ to the Council, "that if he were not speedily disposed to some other place, they feared the castle would be betrayed:" and Sir Richard Greenvil writ earnestly to the Prince about it, as did Sir Harry Killigrew (a person of entire affections to the King, and a true friend of the Governor) very importunately. So that about the month of November, the King's warrant for his removal was sent to Sir Arthur Basset, Governor of the Mount; who went to Pendennis in the morning, and took him with him to the Mount, in order to remove him to Scilly, when the time should require it; the Duke expressing great trouble and discontent that he should be removed, and pretending, "that he could not ride for the stone," (of which he complained so much, that he had petitioned the King for leave to go into France to be cut), and the Governor, and all that family and garrison, made

Duke Hamilton is removed to the Mount.

made shew of no less grief to part with him, he having begotten a great opinion in that people of his integrity and innocence. But when the Duke saw there was no remedy, he mounted a horse that was provided for him, and passed the journey very well.

After the loss of Dartmouth, some persons of near trust about the Prince resumed the discourse again of enlarging the Duke, and believed that he would be able to do the King great service in the business of Scotland; and this prevailed so far with one of the lords of the Council, that, upon the confidence of Dr. Frazier, the Prince's physician, he made a journey with the Doctor to the Mount; and did think, that he had so much prevailed with the Duke, that he had consented "to send a
"servant speedily to the Scottish army in England, (who
"should likewise pass by the King, and carry any letters
"to his Majesty from the Prince), to persuade them to
"comply with the King; and that he would likewise
"dispatch Charles Murray into Scotland, instructed to
"his brother Lanrick, and that party, to oblige them
"to join with Mountrose. But Dr. Frazier confessed
"to those he trusted, that the Duke rather consented to
"it to satisfy that Lord's vehemence and importunity,
"than that he had any great hope of success by it; in-
"sisting still, that nothing but his own liberty would
"do it:" for which he gave a reason, that before had
never been heard of, and was very contrary to what
the Duke had said to the Chancellor, which was, "that
"the State of Scotland was so sensible of the injury
"done to the Duke by his imprisonment, (which he
"had said before that they were very glad of), that they
"had made an order, that there should never be treaty
"with the King, or agreeing with Mountrose, till he was
"at liberty, or brought to a legal trial." And when

Charles

Charles Murray went to him for his instructions, though he said much for him to say again to his friends, and his brother, towards their declaring for the King, he discouraged him much as to the journey, representing to him "his own danger, and the strict orders that were in Scotland against divisive motions; of which, he said, he feared this would be taken for one."

This made the Council to have no mind to be engaged in any treaty with him, and less in proposing or consenting to his liberty; not only upon the former knowledge they had of his disposition and nature, but also that they believed, if he were not sincere, he would do much mischief; and the more for being in any degree trusted; if he were sincere, that he would be able to do more good for the King, by being redeemed out of prison by the enemy, than by being released by the King or Prince. And therefore, when the Prince removed in that haste and disorder from Pendennis to Scilly, there was no possibility of removing him; so that, at the surrender of the Mount, which was, by his advice, much sooner than they had reason to do it, when they were able to defend themselves for many months, he was enlarged, and removed himself to London by speedy journeys on horseback; and did never after complain of the stone; which he before protested "would kill him, if he were not cut within a year."

Upon the
surrender of
the Mount
he obtained
his liberty.

We left the King in Oxford, free from the trouble and uneasiness of those perpetual and wandering marches, in which he had been so many months exercised; and quiet from all rude and insolent provocations. He was now amongst his true and faithful counsellors and servants, whose affection and loyalty had first engaged them in his service, and made them stick

The King's
transactions
at Oxford.

stick to him to the end ; and who, if they were not able to give him assistance, to stem that mighty torrent that overbore both him and them, paid him still the duty that was due to him, and gave him no vexation when they could not give him comfort. There were yet some garrisons remaining in his obedience, which were like, during the winter season, to be preserved from any attempt of the enemy. But upon the approach of spring, if the King should be without an army in the field, the fate of those few places was easy to be discerned. And which way an army could possibly be brought together, or where it should be raised, was not within the compass of the wisest man's comprehension. However, the more difficult it was, the more vigour was to be applied in the attempt. Worcester, as it was neighbouring to Wales, had the greatest outlet and elbow-room ; and the Parliament party that had gotten any footing there, behaved themselves with that insolence and tyranny, that even they who had called them thither, were weary of them, and ready to enter into any combination to destroy them. Upon this prospect, and some invitation, the King sent the Lord Astley (whom he had before, at his being at Cardiff, constituted Governor of those parts, in the place of the Lord Gerrard) to Worcester, with order " to proceed, as he should find " himself able, towards the gathering a body of horse " together, against the spring, from those garrisons " which were left, and from Wales : " and what progress he made towards it will be soon known.

When a full prospect, upon the most mature deliberation, was taken of all the hopes which might with any colour of reason be entertained ; all that occurred, appeared so hopeless and desperate, that it was thought fit to resort to an old expedient, that had been found as
desperate

desperate as any ; which was a new overture for a treaty of peace : for which they who advised it had no other reason, but that they could not tell what else to do. Cromwell had left Fairfax in the West, and with a party selected had set down before Basing, and his imperious summons having been rejected, he stormed the place and took it, and put most of the garrison to the sword : and a little before Winchester had surrendered upon easy conditions. The lesser garrisons in the North, which had stood out till now, were rendered every day ; and the Scottish army, which had marched as far as their own borders, was called back, and required to besiege Newark. So that whoever thought the sending to the Parliament (puffed up and swollen with so many successes) for a peace, would prove to no purpose, was not yet able to tell, what was like to prove to better purpose. This reflection alone prevailed with the King, who had enough experimented those inclinations, to refer entirely to the Council, “ to choose any expedient, they thought most probable to succeed, and to prepare any message they would advise his Majesty to send to the Parliament.” And when they had considered it, the overtures he had already made, by two several messages, to which he had received no answer, were so ample, that they knew not what addition to make to them ; but concluded, “ that this message should contain nothing but a resentment of that, and a demand of an answer to the messages his Majesty had formerly sent for a treaty of peace.”

Cromwell
takes Win-
chester and
Basing.

This message had the same entertainment which the former had received. It was received, read, and then laid aside without any debate ; which they who wished well to it, had not credit or courage to advance ; yet still found means to convey their advice to Oxford,

The King
sends an-
other mes-
sage for
peace,
which was
laid aside by
the Houses.

“that the King should not give over that importunity:” and they who had little hopes of better effects from it, were yet of opinion, “that the neglecting those gracious “invitations, made by his Majesty for peace, would “shortly make the Parliament so odious, that they “would not dare long to continue in the same obsti- “nacy.” The Scots were grieved and enraged, to see their idol Presbytery so undervalued and slighted, that besides the Independents’ power in the city, their very Assembly of Divines every day lost credit and authority to support it; and desired nothing more than a treaty for peace: and many others who had contributed most to the suppression of the King’s power, were now much more afraid of their own army, than ever they had been of his authority; and believed, that if a treaty were once set on foot, it would not be in the power of the most violent to render it ineffectual: or whatever they believed themselves, they conveyed this to some about the King, as the concurrent advice of all who pretended to wish well: and some men took upon them to send the subject of what message the King should send, and clothed in such expressions, as they conceived were like to gain ground; which his Majesty could not but graciously accept, though he very seldom imitated their style.

His Majesty
sends again
for a safe
conduct for
the Duke of
Richmond
and others.

Their an-
swer.

After the King had long expected an answer to his last message, induced by those and the like reasons above mentioned, he sent again to the Parliament, “that “they would send a safe conduct for the Duke of “Richmond, and the Earl of Southampton, Mr. John “Ashburnham, and Mr. Geoffrey Palmer; by whom “he would make such particular propositions to them “as he hoped would produce a peace.” To this they returned an answer, such as it was, “that it would be “inconvenient, and might be of dangerous consequence,
“to

" to admit those lords and gentlemen to come into their
 " quarters ; but that they were preparing some propo-
 " sitions, which, when finished, should be sent to his
 " Majesty in bills, to be signed by him ; which would
 " be the only way to produce a peace." The King
 understood well what such bills would contain, and
 which when he had granted, he should have nothing
 left to deny ; and therefore liked not, that such conclu-
 sions should be made without a treaty. He resolved
 once more to try another way, which having been never
 yet tried, he believed they could not deny ; and if
 granted, what hazard soever his person should be in, he
 should discover, whether he had so many friends in the
 Parliament and the city, as many men would persuade
 him to conclude ; and whether the Scots had ever a
 thought of doing him service. He sent to them, to-
 wards the end of December, " that since all other over-
 " tures had proved ineffectual, he desired to enter into a
 " personal treaty with the two Houses of Parliament at
 " Westminster, and the commissioners of the Parlia-
 " ment of Scotland, upon all matters which might con-
 " duce to the peace and happiness of the distracted
 " kingdoms ; and to that purpose his Majesty would
 " come to London, or Westminster, with such of his
 " servants as now attended him, and their followers, not
 " exceeding in the whole the number of three hundred
 " persons, if he might have the engagement of the two
 " Houses of Parliament, the commissioners of the Parlia-
 " ment of Scotland, of the chief commanders in Sir
 " Thomas Fairfax's army, and of those of the Scottish
 " army, for his free and safe coming to and abode in
 " London, or Westminster, for the space of forty days ;
 " and after that time, for his free and safe repair to Ox-
 " ford, Worcester, or Newark, if a peace should not be
 " concluded ;

The King
 sends to de-
 sire a per-
 sonal treaty
 at West-
 minster.

“concluded: for their better encouragement to hope
 “well from this treaty, his Majesty offered to settle the
 “militia in such persons as should be acceptable to
 “them.”

Their an-
 swer.

This message indeed awakened them, and made them believe that the gamesters who were to play this game, looked into their hands, and hoped to find a party in their own quarters; and that, if they should neglect to send an answer to this message, their silence might be taken for consent, and that they should quickly hear the King was in London; which they did not wish. They made thereupon more than ordinary haste, to let his Majesty know, “that there had been no delay on their
 “parts; but for the personal treaty desired by his Ma-
 “jesty, after so much innocent blood shed in the war
 “by his commands and commissions,” (with the men-
 tion of many other odious particulars,) “they conceived,
 “that until satisfaction and security were first given to
 “both kingdoms, his Majesty’s coming thither could
 “not be convenient, nor by them assented to; nor did
 “they apprehend it a means conducing to peace, to
 “accept of a treaty for few days, with any thoughts or
 “intentions of returning to hostility again.” They ob-
 served, “that his Majesty desired the engagement, not
 “only of the Parliament, but of the chief commanders
 “in Sir Thomas Fairfax’s army, and those of the
 “Scottish army; which, they said, was against the
 “privilege and honour of Parliament, to have those
 “joined with them, who were subject and subordinate
 “to their authority.” They renewed what they had
 said in their last answer, “that they would shortly send
 “some bills to his Majesty, the signing of which would
 “be the best way to procure a good and a safe
 “peace.”

Though

Though the King was not willing to acquiesce with this stubborn rejection, but sent message upon message still to them for a better answer, and at last offered "to
 "dismantle all his garrisons, and so come to and reside
 "with his Parliament, if all they who had adhered to him
 "might be at liberty to live in their own houses, and to
 "enjoy their own estates, without being obliged to take
 "any oaths, but what were enjoined by the law;" he could never procure any other answer from them. And lest all this should not appear affront enough, they published an ordinance, as they called it, "that if the
 "King should, contrary to the advice of the Parliament
 "already given to him, come, or attempt to come,
 "within the lines of communication, the committee of
 "the militia should raise such forces as they should
 "think fit, to prevent any tumult that might arise by
 "his coming, and to suppress any that should happen;
 "and to apprehend any who should come with him, or
 "resort to him; and to secure his person from danger:" which was an expression they were not ashamed always to use, when there was no danger that threatened him, but what themselves contrived, and designed against him. To this their ordinance they added another injunction, "that all who had ever borne arms
 "for his Majesty" (whereof very many upon the surrender of garrisons, and liberty granted to them, by their articles upon those surrenders, were come thither)
 "should immediately depart, and go out of London,
 "upon penalty of being proceeded against as spies." So that all doors being, in this obstinate manner, shut against a treaty, all thoughts of that, at least with reference to the Parliament, were laid aside; and all endeavours used to get such a power together, as might make them see

The King
sends again.

Their ordi-
nance
thereupon.

that his Majesty was not out of all possibility of being yet able to defend himself.

The King
tries to deal
with the In-
dependents.

When all hopes, as I said, were desperate of any treaty with the Parliament, and consequently many hazards were to be run, in the contriving a peace any other way; the sustaining the war, with any probability of success, was the next desirable thing to a peace, and preferable before any such peace, as was probably to be hoped for from the party that governed the army, which governed the Parliament. The King therefore used all the means which occurred to him, or which were advised and proposed by others, to divide the Independent party; and to prevail with some principal persons of them, to find their content and satisfaction in advancing his interest. That party comprehended many who were not so much enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to desire heartily that a peace might be established upon the foundations of both, so their own particular ambitions might be complied with. To them the King thought he might be able to propose very valuable compensations for any service they could do him; and the power of the Presbyterians, as they were in conjunction with the Scots, seemed no unnatural argument to work upon those, who professed to be swayed by matter of liberty of conscience in religion: since it was out of all question, that they should never find the least satisfaction to their scruples and their principles in Church government, from those who pretended to erect the kingdom of Jesus Christ. And it was thought to be no ill presage towards the repairing of the fabric of the Church of England, that its two mortal enemies, who had exposed it to so much persecution and oppression, hated each other as mortally, and laboured

laboured each other's destruction, with the same fury and zeal they had both practised towards her. This reasonable imagination very much disposed the King, who was well acquainted with the unruly spirit and malice of the Presbyterians, to think it possible that he might receive some benefit from the Independents; a faction newly grown up, and with which he was utterly unacquainted: and his Majesty's extraordinary affection for the Church made him the less weigh and consider the incompatibility and irreconcilableness of that faction with the government of the State; of which, it may be, he was the less sensible, because he thought nothing more impossible, than that the English nation should submit to any other than monarchical government. There were besides an over-active and busy kind of men, who still undertook to make overtures as agreeable to the wish of some principal leaders of that party, and as with their authority, and so prevailed with the King, to suffer some persons of credit near him, to make some propositions, in his name, to particular persons. And it is very probable, that as the same men made the expectations of those people appear to the King much more reasonable and moderate, than in truth they were, so they persuaded the others to believe, that his Majesty would yield to many more important concessions, than he would ever be induced to grant. So either side had, in a short time, a clear view into each other's intentions, and quickly gave over any expectation of benefit that way; save that the Independents were willing, that the King should cherish the hopes of their compliance, and the King as willing that they should believe that his Majesty might be prevailed with to grant more, than at first he appeared resolved to do.

The truth is, though that party was most prevalent

in the Parliament, and comprehended all the superior officers of the army, (the General only excepted; who thought himself a Presbyterian,) yet there were only three men, Vane, Cromwell, and Ireton, who governed and disposed all the rest according to their sentiments; and without doubt they had not yet published their dark designs to many of their own party, nor would their party, at that time, have been so numerous and considerable, if they had known, or but imagined, that they had entertained those thoughts of heart, which they grew every day less tender to conceal, and forward enough to discover.

A treaty
between the
King and
the Scots,
set on foot
by the inter-
position of
France:
and Mont-
treuil is sent
for that
purpose.

There was another intrigue now set on foot, with much more probability of success, both in respect of the thing itself, and the circumstances with which it came accompanied; and that was a treaty with the Scots, by the interposition and mediation of the Crown of France; which, to that purpose at this time, sent an envoy, one Montrevil, to London, with some formal address to the Parliament, but intentionally to negotiate between the King and the Scots; whose agent at Paris had given encouragement to the Queen of England, then there, to hope that that nation would return to their duty; and the Queen Regent, in the great generosity of her heart, did really desire to contribute all that was in her power to the King's recovery. To that purpose, she sent Montrevil at this time with credentials to the King, as well as to the Parliament; by which the Queen had opportunity to communicate her advice to the King her husband; and the envoy had authority "to engage the faith of France, for the performance of whatsoever the King should promise to the Scots."

This was the first instance, and it will appear a very sorry one, that a foreign sovereign Prince gave, of with-
ing

ing a reconciliation, or to put a period to the civil war in his Majesty's dominions; towards the contrivance whereof, and the frequent fomenting it, too many of them contributed too much. The old maxim, "that the Crown of England could balance the differences which fell out between the Princes of Europe, by its inclining to either party," had made the Ministers of our State too negligent in cultivating the affections of their neighbours by any real obligations; as if they were to be arbiters only in the differences which fell out between others, without being themselves liable to any impression of adverse fortune. This made the unexpected calamity that befel this kingdom not ingrateful to its neighbours on all sides; who were willing to see it weakened and chastised by its own strokes.

Cardinal Richelieu, out of the haughtiness of his own nature, and immoderate appetite of revenge, under the disguise of being jealous of the honour of his master, had discovered an implacable hatred against the English, ever since that unhappy provocation by the invasion of the Isle of Rhé, and the declared protection of Rochelle; and took the first opportunity, from the indisposition and murmurs of Scotland, to warm that people into rebellion, and saw the poison thereof prosper, and spread to his own wish; which he fomented by the French ambassador in the Parliament, with all the venom of his heart; as hath been mentioned before. As he had not unwisely driven the Queen mother out of France, or rather kept her from returning, when she had unadvisedly withdrawn herself from thence, so he was as vigilant to keep her daughter, the Queen of England, from coming thither; which she resolved to have done, when she carried the Princess Royal into Holland; in hope to work upon the King her brother, to make such a seasonable declaration

ration against the rebels of England and Scotland, as might terrify them from the farther prosecution of their wicked purposes. But it was made known to her, "that her presence would not be acceptable in France;" and so, for the present, that enterprise was declined.

But that great Cardinal being now dead, and the King himself dying within a short time after, the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, in the infancy of the King, and under his mother, the Queen Regent, was committed to Cardinal Mazarine, an Italian by birth, and raised by Richelieu to the degree of a Cardinal, for his great dexterity in putting Casal into the hands of France, when the Spaniard had given it up to him, as the Nuntio of the Pope, and in trust that it should remain in the possession of his Holiness, till the title of the Duke of Mantua should be determined. This Cardinal was a man rather of different than contrary parts from his predecessor; and fitter to build upon the foundations which he had laid, than to have laid those foundations; and to cultivate, by artifice, dexterity, and dissimulation, (in which his nature and parts excelled,) what the other had begun with great resolution and vigour, and even gone through with invincible constancy and courage. So that, the one having broken the heart of all opposition and contradiction to the Crown, by the cutting off the head of the Duke of Montmorency, and reducing Monsieur, the brother of the King, to the most tame submission, and incapacity of fomenting another rebellion, it was very easy for the other, to find a compliance from all men, now sufficiently terrified from any contradiction. And how great things soever this last Minister performed for the service of that Crown, during the minority of the King, they may all, in justice, be imputed to the prudence and
providence

providence of Cardinal Richelieu; who had reduced and disposed the whole nation to an entire subjection and submission to what should be imposed upon them.

Cardinal Mazarine, when he came first to that great ministry, was without any personal animosity against our King, or the English nation; and was no otherwise delighted with the distraction and confusion they were both involved in, than as it disabled the whole people from making such a conjunction with the Spaniard, as might make the prosecution of that war (upon which his whole heart was set) the more difficult to him: which he had the more reason to apprehend by the residence of Don Alonso de Cardenas, ambassador from the King of Spain, still at London, making all addresses to the Parliament. When the Queen had been compelled in the last year, upon the advance of the Earl of Essex into the West, to transport herself out of Cornwall into France, she had found there as good a reception as she could expect; and received as many expressions of kindness from the Queen Regent, and as ample promises from the Cardinal, as she could wish. So that she promised herself a very good effect from her journey; and did procure from him such a present supply of arms and ammunition, as, though of no great value in itself, she was willing to interpret, as a good evidence of the reality of his intentions. But the Cardinal did not yet think the King's condition low enough; and rather desired, by administering little and ordinary supplies, to enable him to continue the struggle, than to see him victorious over his enemies; when he might more remember, how slender aid he had received, than that he had been assisted; and might hereafter make himself arbiter of the peace between the two Crowns. Wherefore he was more solicitous to keep a good correspondence

correspondence with the Parliament, and to profess a neutrality between the King and them, than inclined to give them any jealousy, by appearing much concerned for the King.

But after the battle of Naseby was lost, and that the King seemed so totally defeated, that he had very little hope of appearing again in the head of an army, that might be able to resist the enemy, the Cardinal was awakened to new apprehensions; and saw more cause to fear the monstrous power of the Parliament, after they had totally subdued the King, than ever he had to apprehend the excess of greatness in the Crown: and therefore, besides the frequent incitements he received from the generosity of the Queen Regent, who really desired to supply some substantial relief to the King, he was himself willing to receive any propositions from the Queen of England, by which she thought that the King her husband's service might be advanced; and had always the dexterity and artifice, by letting things fall in discourse, in the presence of those, who, he knew, would observe and report what they heard or conceived, to cause that to be proposed to him, which he had most mind to do, or to engage himself in. So he had application enough from the covenanting party of Scotland (who from the beginning had depended upon France, by the encouragement and promises of Cardinal Richelieu) to know how to direct them, to apply themselves to the Queen of England, that they might come recommended by her Majesty to him, as a good expedient for the King's service. For they were not now reserved in their complaints of the treatment they received from the Parliament, and of the terrible apprehension they had of being disappointed of all their hopes, by the prevalence of the Independent army, and of their faction in
both

both Houses ; and therefore wished nothing more, than a good opportunity to make a firm conjunction with the King ; towards which they had all encouragement from the Cardinal, if they made their address to the Queen, and if her Majesty would desire the Cardinal to conduct it. And because many things must be promised, on the King's behalf, to the Scots upon this their engagement, " the Crown of France should give credit and " engage as well that the Scots should perform all that " they should promise, as that the King should make " good whatsoever should be undertaken by him, or by " the Queen on his behalf."

This was the occasion and ground of sending Monsieur ^{Montrevil's} Montrevil into England, as is mentioned before. He ^{negotia-} arrived there in January, with as much credit as the ^{tion with} Queen Regent could give him to the Scots, and as the ^{the King-} Queen of England could give him to the King ; who likewise persuaded his Majesty to believe, " that France " was now become really kind to him, and would en- " gage all its power to serve him ; and that the Cardi- " nal was well assured, that the Scots would behave " themselves henceforwards very honestly : " which his Majesty was willing to believe, when all other hopes had failed, and all the overtures made by him for a treaty had been rejected. But it was not long before he was undeceived ; and discerned that this treaty was not like to produce better fruit, than his former overtures had done. For the first information he received from Montrevil, after his arrival in England, and after he had conferred with the Scottish commissioners, was, " that " they peremptorily insisted upon his Majesty's con- " descension and promise, for the establishment of the " Presbyterian government in England, as it was in " Scotland ; without which, he said, there was no hope, " that

“that they would ever join with his Majesty;” and therefore the envoy pressed his Majesty “to give them satisfaction therein, as the advice of the Queen Regent and the Cardinal, and likewise of the Queen his wife;” which exceedingly troubled the King. And the Scots alleged confidently, “that the Queen had expressly promised to Sir Robert Moray,” (a cunning and a dexterous man, who had been employed by them to her Majesty,) “that his Majesty should consent thereunto.” They produced a writing signed by the Queen, and delivered to Sir Robert Moray, wherein there were such expressions concerning religion, as nothing pleased the King; and made him look upon that negotiation, as rather a conspiracy against the Church between the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, than as an expedient for his restoration, or preservation: and he was very much displeased with some persons, of near trust about the Queen, to whose misinformation and advice he imputed what her Majesty had done in that particular.

Thereupon he deferred not to let Monsieur Montrevil know, “that the alteration of the government in the Church was expressly against his conscience; and that he would never consent to it; that what the Queen his wife had seemed to promise, proceeded from her not being well informed of the constitution of the government of England; which could not consist with the change that was proposed.” But his Majesty offered “to give all the assurance imaginable, and hoped that the Queen Regent would engage her royal word on his behalf in that particular, that the maintenance and support of the Episcopal government in England should not in any degree shake, or bring the least prejudice to that government that was then settled in Scotland;” and, farther he offered, “that,

“if

“ if the Scots should desire to have the free exercise of
“ their religion, according to their own practice and
“ custom, whilst they should be at any time in England,
“ he would assign them convenient places to that pur-
“ pose in London, or any other part of the kingdom,
“ where they should desire it.” Nor could all the im-
portunity or arguments, used by Montrevil, prevail
with his Majesty to enlarge those concessions, or in the
least to recede from the constancy of his resolution;
though he informed him of “ the dissatisfaction both
“ the Scottish commissioners, and the Presbyterians in
“ London had in his Majesty’s resolution, and averfeness
“ from gratifying them in that, which they always had,
“ and always would insist upon; and that the Scots
“ were resolved to have no more to do with his Majesty,
“ but to agree with the Independents; from whom they
“ could have better conditions than from him; and
“ he feared such an agreement was too far advanced al-
“ ready.”

Many answers and replies passed between the King
and Montrevil in cipher, and with all imaginable se-
crecy; in which, whatever reproaches were cast upon
him afterwards, he always gave the King very clear and
impartial information of the temper and of the dis-
courses of those people with whom he was to transact.
And though he did, upon all occasions, with much
earnestness, advise his Majesty to consent to the unrea-
sonable demands of the Scots, which, he did believe, he
would be at last compelled to do, yet it is as certain,
that he did use all the arguments the talent of his un-
derstanding, which was a very good one, could suggest
to him, to persuade the Scots to be contented with what
the King had so frankly offered and granted to them;
and did all he could to persuade and convince them,
that

that their own preservation, and that of their nation, depended upon the preservation of the King, and the support of his regal authority. And it is very memorable, that, in answer to a letter which Montrevil writ to the King, and in which he persuaded his Majesty to agree with the Scots upon their own demands, and, amongst other arguments, assured his Majesty, "that the English Presbyterians were fully agreed with the Scots," (which his Majesty believed they would never be,) the Scots having declared, "that they would never insift upon the settling any other government than was at that time practised in London;" urging many other successes, which they had at that time obtained; the King, after some expressions of his adhering to what he had formerly declared, used these words in his letter of the 21st of January to Monsieur Montrevil; "Let them never flatter themselves so with their good successes: without pretending to prophecy, I will foretel their ruin, except they agree with me; however it shall please God to dispose of me;" which they had great reason to remember after.

But because, though this treaty was begun, and proceeded so far as is recited, before the end of the present year, yet it was carried on, and did not conclude, till some months after the next year was begun, we shall put an end to our relation of it at present, and resume what remains, in its place of the year ensuing: only, before we finish our account of the actions of this unfortunate year forty-five, we must mention one more, which happened on the two and twentieth of March, just as the year was expiring.

The year 1645 concludes with the defeat of the Lord Astley's forces.

The King had hoped to draw out of the few garrisons still in his possession, such a body of horse and foot, as might enable him to take the field early in the spring, though

though without any fixed design. But this was dashed in the very beginning, by the total rout and defeat the Lord Aftley underwent ; who being upon his march from Worcester towards Oxford, with two thousand horse and foot, and the King having appointed to meet him, with another body of fifteen hundred horse and foot, letters and orders miscarried, and were intercepted ; whereby the enemy came to have notice of the resolution, and drew a much greater strength from their several garrisons of Gloucester, Warwick, Coventry, and Evesham. So that the Lord Aftley was no sooner upon his march, but they followed him ; and the second day, after he had marched all night, when he thought he had escaped all their quarters, they fell upon his wearied troops ; which, though a bold and stout resistance was made, were at last totally defeated ; and the Lord Aftley himself, Sir Charles Lucas, who was Lieutenant General of the horse, and most of the other officers who were not killed, were taken prisoners. The few who escaped were so scattered and dispersed, that they never came together again ; nor did there remain, from that time, any possibility for the King to draw any other troops together in the field.

THE END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

